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JAMES K. POLK AND JOHN BULL

"THE only way to treat John Bull was to look him straight in the eye." This remark, self-attributed to President James K. Polk in connection with his handling of the Oregon crisis of 1845-6, calls up a picture of a determined and courageous chief executive who boldly asserted his concept of American rights to Oregon, secure in the belief that Great Britain would back down, or if not, that the god of Manifest Destiny would bless American arms, employed in a righteous cause. Polk, according to the accepted view, maintained his glance unwavering. John Bull's eye fell. The British government beat a swift retreat, offered a compromise settlement almost indistinguishable from that which it had in former years repeatedly rejected, and the troublesome boundary dispute was settled without bloodshed.

Before re-examining this view of Polk's firmness and consistency, let us review briefly the well-known facts in the case. Polk had been elected to the presidency in 1844 on a Democratic platform promising the "re-occupation of Oregon" as well as the "re-annexation of Texas" and at the close of a campaign in which his supporters had proclaimed the militant slogan of "fifty-four forty or fight." In his inaugural address in March, 1845, he had assured the country that the American right to Oregon—presumably the whole of it—was "clear and unquestionable." In the following summer, however, on the ground that he felt bound by the position taken by his predecessors in office, he had permitted James Buchanan, his Secretary of State, to renew the offer, which had been made repeatedly since 1818, of a division of the disputed territory at the forty-ninth parallel, though omitting the earlier tender of the free navigation of the Columbia River from the forty-ninth parallel to its mouth. When Pakenham, the British minister in Washington, curtly rejected this proposal, Polk ordered it withdrawn, intimating that the United States would now stand upon its rights to the whole territory, and refusing even to allow Buchanan to say that he would consider

any reasonable counter-proposal that the British government might submit.

In his annual message of December 2, 1845, Polk informed Congress of the course of the negotiations to date. He was convinced, he said, "that the British pretensions of title could not be maintained to any portion of the Oregon territory upon any principle of public law recognized by nations. . . . Oregon is a part of the North American continent, to which, it is confidently affirmed, the title of the United States is the best now in existence." He asked Congressional authorization for giving the required one-year's notice of termination of the existing joint-occupation agreement. "At the end of the year's notice," he added, ". . . we shall have reached a period when the national rights in Oregon must either be abandoned or firmly maintained. That they cannot be abandoned without a sacrifice of both national honor and interest, is too clear to admit of doubt."

The only reasonable interpretation of this language was that Polk was determined to insist upon having all of Oregon up to 54° 40', even at the risk of war with Great Britain. Certainly that was the meaning read into his words by the rabid expansionists—the "fifty-four forty men"—of the North-west, and also by the more cautious who dreaded war with England as a major calamity. It was to one of the latter that Polk made the remark quoted at the beginning of this paper. To a timorous Congressman who expressed alarm at the possible consequences of his bold stand Polk replied, as recorded in his diary, that "the only way to treat John Bull was to look him straight in the eye; . . . that if Congress faltered [sic] or hesitated in their course, John Bull would immediately become arrogant and more grasping in his demands."

It is to Polk's firm language in his annual message and in this passage from his diary, coupled with the fact that Great Britain subsequently made substantial concessions, that we owe the traditional view that Polk bluffed the British into a surrender. Historians have somewhat neglected certain events that occurred in the period from December, 1845, to February, 1846.

Part of the story of these weeks is reasonably well known. Within a few days of his December message, Polk began to show signs of weakening; already, in fact, he was preparing to throw upon the Senate responsibility for a retreat which he lacked the candour to lead. On December 13, Buchanan wrote Louis McLane, the United States minister in London, that if the British

government should make a proposal and if the President should feel that its character warranted, "he would feel inclined to submit it to the Senate for their previous advice." Ten days later Polk confided to his Cabinet that if Great Britain should now propose division of the territory at the forty-ninth parallel, he would probably submit the proposition to the Senate. On January 29, Buchanan was permitted to tell McLane that he might say, "cautiously and informally," to Lord Aberdeen, British Foreign Minister, that while the President would "accept nothing less than the whole territory, unless the Senate should otherwise determine," he might submit to them for their advice a British proposal similar to that which Polk had made and then withdrawn in the previous summer. This promise to abdicate the proper responsibilities of the executive, Polk justified upon the rather specious ground that the Senate shared both the war-making and the treaty-making powers.

Thus far the student may read the story in the standard accounts of the Oregon controversy. But at this point there enters a new element which has, I believe, gone unnoticed. Shortly before writing the instruction of January 29, Buchanan had received from McLane in London a despatch dated January 3, in which he reported an interview with Lord Aberdeen. McLane had inquired of the Foreign Minister the purpose of extensive military and naval preparations then being made in England. Aberdeen had replied that although in the event of a breach with the United States the current preparations "would be useful and important," they had been initiated before the Oregon crisis arose and "had no direct reference to such a rupture." McLane, however, volunteered to Buchanan the opinion that, despite Aberdeen's conciliatory tone, the preparations really had some relation to the Oregon crisis and that if war came, Great Britain would strike promptly and heavily.¹ Is it unreasonable to suppose that Buchanan's intimation of a willingness to compromise on the Oregon question was stimulated by this rather mild rattling of the British sword? In view of what follows, I can hardly think so.

James K. Polk's diary was published in 1910. It has been mulled over, during the subsequent thirty-three years, by countless workers in diplomatic and other history and its contributions to historical fact presumably pretty thoroughly exhausted. The purport of certain passages bearing on the Oregon controversy, however, seems to have escaped notice.

¹*Senate Document 117*, 29 Cong. 1 sess., 2-4.

Late on Saturday night, February 21, 1846, Polk received from the State Department a new despatch from McLane, dated February 3. He noted simply that its information "was not altogether of so pacific a character as the accounts given in the English newspapers had led me to believe."² There are unmistakable signs, however, that Polk was alarmed. The next day, Sunday, though Polk as a rule avoided official business on the Sabbath, three Cabinet members called to see the despatch. On Monday, Buchanan and Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, conferred with Polk on the same subject. On Tuesday, February 24, the full Cabinet met. After some discussion it was agreed that Buchanan should hurry a note to McLane by the next steamer to the effect that the door for negotiation was not closed and that compromise was still possible. It is indicative of Polk's attitude that, though he was wont to note in his methodical daily record his reproof of all exhibitions of weakness or timidity on the part of his subordinates, he did not, in this instance, record a word of objection to the sending of this plain invitation to compromise. It is obvious that something in McLane's despatch had induced Polk to dismount with some haste and loss of dignity from the high horse that he had been riding.³

What had McLane written? The answer to that question involves an interesting if minor episode in the story of the publication of diplomatic correspondence. Most of the correspondence with regard to Oregon was promptly sent to Congress and printed in the appropriate Senate documents. From McLane's despatch of February 3, however, the alarming passages were deleted before publication, the remainder being quite innocent. Buchanan in his reply quoted at length from McLane's despatch, but here again these passages were deleted from Buchanan's note as officially published.⁴ They first saw the light of day in John Bassett Moore's *Works of James Buchanan*, published some sixty years later.⁵ From Buchanan's quoted excerpts it was easy enough to see the cause of Polk's alarm, but McLane's despatch itself remained immured in the State Department files until 1937, when it was published by Hunter Miller in the fifth volume of his collection of treaties.

²M. M. Quaife (ed.), *The Diary of James K. Polk during his Presidency, 1845-1849* (4 vols., Chicago, 1910), I, 241.

³*Ibid.*, I, 241-6, 253.

⁴*Senate Document 489*, 29 Cong. 1 sess., 39-40, 42.

⁵John Bassett Moore (ed.), *The Works of James Buchanan* (12 vols., Philadelphia, 1908-11), VI, 377-83.

McLane, as we now know, had reported another conversation at the Foreign Office in which Lord Aberdeen, after voicing irritation at Buchanan's rejection of a British offer of arbitration and at the bellicose tone of the Oregon debate in Congress, had expressed his conviction that "the President had determined to discourage any new proposition of compromise, and to concede nothing of the extreme demand." Aberdeen had then intimated that he was about to withdraw his opposition to the preparation of armaments "founded upon the contingency of war with the United States," and that he would offer no further obstacle to measures for the defence of Canada and even for "offensive operations." Such measures would include, McLane understood, "the immediate equipment of thirty sail of the line, besides steamers and other vessels of war."⁶

A word here about Lord Aberdeen's position. There is not the slightest doubt that he was sincerely desirous of an amicable settlement of the Oregon controversy. Personally he had long been willing to accept the forty-ninth parallel as a boundary, could he have reconciled his colleagues and the British public to such a compromise. He had regretted Minister Pakenham's summary rejection, the previous year, of Buchanan's compromise proposal. "I told him [McLane]," he said, in February, 1846, probably referring to the same conversation that McLane had reported, "that no person more anxiously desired to avert war than myself—that, if ever there existed a Minister of Peace, I was that man." He had, however, been greatly irritated at Polk's inaugural declaration that the American claim to Oregon was "clear and unquestionable," and had replied, in a speech in the House of Lords, that England also possessed rights in Oregon which were "clear and unquestionable," and which, he added, "by the blessing of God, and with your support, . . . we are fully prepared to maintain." Now, in February, 1846, in the light of Polk's annual message and of the Congressional assertions of title to all of Oregon, he could not overlook the possibility that the United States might undertake to seize the whole territory by force. Any such attempt he was certainly prepared to resist. "The difficulty of our present situation," he wrote Pakenham, "and our uncertainty respecting the real designs of the American Government, together with the character of the proceedings of Congress, had made it a matter of prudence to prepare for the

⁶Hunter Miller (ed.), *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* (7 vols. to date, Washington, 1931-42), V, 57-9.

worst . . . with the appearances before me, it was quite impossible for me to refuse my assent to those measures of preparation which were considered indispensable, both in this country and in Canada."⁷

"Those measures of preparation" referred to by Aberdeen appear to have been chiefly increases in British naval strength. British naval appropriations for 1846 were 12 per cent above those for 1845, and a large part of the increase went into steam vessels of war. While these naval increases seem attributable chiefly to alarm at the steam fleet then building in France, "relations with the United States" were frankly avowed as another reason for them, and the steam vessels proposed would have been particularly useful in an American war.⁸ In the United States, memories of the War of 1812 were sufficiently green to leave no doubt about the inconvenience of a war with a vastly superior naval power. By February, furthermore, the Polk administration was facing the virtual certainty of war with Mexico, and Congress, despite some mild suggestions in Polk's annual message, had taken no steps whatever toward placing the country on a war footing.⁹ Under such circumstances, the prospect of war with Mexico and Great Britain at once was not a pleasant subject for contemplation, even for James K. Polk.

The fact was that President Polk had carried his game of looking John Bull in the eye a trifle too far, and John Bull was looking back with menacing glance. Polk's eye wavered. As we have seen, Buchanan, with the approval of President and Cabinet, rushed a conciliatory note to London. McLane, after describing the threatening attitude of Great Britain, had expressed the belief that if he were assured that the United States would look favourably upon a compromise proposal, he could still secure from Lord Aberdeen an offer of settlement at the forty-ninth parallel

⁷Lady Frances Balfour, *The Life of George, Fourth Earl of Aberdeen, K.G., K.T.* (2 vols., London [1922]), II, 129-30; *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, vol. 79, 123-4.

⁸Bernard Brodie, *Sea Power in the Machine Age* (Princeton, 1941), 49-50; Peel's *Memoirs*, II, 223-6, cited in G. L. Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848* (2 vols., New York, 1913), II, 112-13.

⁹Polk, in his December message, had suggested that the navy needed additional steam vessels and that mounted riflemen might advantageously be provided for the protection of emigrants to Oregon, and the Secretaries of War and Navy had made certain corresponding proposals to the proper committees of Congress; but Congress had taken no action, and although Polk and his Cabinet had agreed, after the receipt of McLane's despatch, that the President ought to prod the legislators, it was not until March 24 that he responded to a request from the Senate with a special message in which he stated that relations with both Great Britain and Mexico were such as to make expedient the strengthening of the national defenses (*Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong. 1 sess., 7, 11, 442, 510, 540-1; Polk, *Diary*, I, 257-8, 270, 294-5, 298-9).

with one of several alternative modifications which he described. On February 26, Buchanan instructed McLane to say that the President had always been ready "to receive and to treat with the utmost respect" any compromise proposal from the British government, and assured him that such a proposal as McLane had described, with certain qualifications, would be submitted to the Senate. In a private note of the same date, whether or not written with Polk's knowledge the record does not disclose, the Secretary of State assured McLane that there was not the least doubt of the Senate's approving, by a two-thirds vote, such a compromise as had been described.¹⁰

Though he had now done everything within reason to invite compromise, Polk was unwilling to expose his change of position to public view. Instead, he relied upon the Senate to extricate him from his difficult position. He would not take the initial responsibility of accepting a British proposal of settlement. He would first send such a proposal to the Senate for advice and would accept it only if such advice were given by a two-thirds vote, thus reversing the usual course of procedure. In anticipation of the submission of a British offer, it was necessary to prepare the Senate for a retreat, and three Senators, in particular, stood ready to perform this office. These were Haywood of North Carolina, Calhoun of South Carolina, and Benton of Missouri—all of Polk's own party. The Southerners, having Texas safely in the bag, were particularly averse to fighting England for Oregon. Benton, though from a state where the "Oregon fever" ran strongly, had for many months favoured a compromise. On March 4 and 5 Haywood, and on March 16 Calhoun, argued that Polk could, properly and consistently, accept the line of forty-nine degrees if England should offer it. Haywood went further and predicted that Polk *would* accept such a proposition. On April 1 Benton spoke to similar effect, attempting to show that both Monroe and Jefferson would have been satisfied with the line in question.¹¹ Evidently all three were bent upon making it easier for Polk to accept a compromise. Calhoun so stated in a letter, though he did not claim to have an understanding with Polk. Benton asserted later that both he and Haywood had been in consultation with Polk, that Haywood "spoke the sentiments of

¹⁰Moore (ed.), *Works of James Buchanan*, VI, 377-83, 385-7.

¹¹*Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong. 1 sess., 456, 458-60, 502-6, 581-3.

the President, personally confided to him," and that he (Benton) was urged by Polk to speak in support of Haywood.¹²

Polk's diary records interviews with all three Senators but is full of denials that Haywood or any one else was authorized to speak for him. All who inquired as to his position were, according to Polk, merely referred to his annual message. To that, he said, he had nothing to add except that, as he told several Senators "confidentially," he would submit a reasonable offer to the Senate.¹³ The student must choose here between Benton's recollection, set down several years later, and Polk's contemporary record, written perhaps with a view to vindicating his own firmness and consistency. Neither piece of testimony can be regarded as flawless. What is sufficiently evident from the record is that Polk, after the receipt of McLane's alarming despatch, found himself in a dangerous position and was relying upon the Senate to extricate him. Publicly, he maintained his stout front against Great Britain. Privately, he desired compromise but intended that the odium of compromising—if odium there were—should attach to the Senate. Polk has been characterized by different historians as "Polk the mendacious" and "Polk the mediocre." A description at least equally apt, as far as Oregon is concerned, would be "Polk the buck-passer."

The remaining phases of the controversy may be passed over rapidly. Under the influence of the moderates in the Senate, Congress passed in April a resolution which authorized the President to give notice of the termination of joint occupation, but avoided any extreme claims and expressed every desire for an amicable settlement. Upon receipt of the notification, which the President promptly despatched to London, Aberdeen sent to Washington a draft treaty fixing the boundary at the forty-ninth parallel, though leaving to Great Britain the whole of Vancouver Island. This proposal the President sent to the Senate with a message requesting their advice, in which he had the effrontery to assert that the opinions expressed in his December message "remain[ed] unchanged." The Senate, by a vote of 38 to 12, advised acceptance and a few days later, on June 18, gave formal consent to ratification by a slightly different vote.

Before this happy consummation was reached, however, a

¹²American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899, II, 686; Thomas H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (2 vols., New York, 1854-6), II, 662-7.

¹³Polk, *Diary*, I, 270-87, *passim*. Haywood, in the revised copy of his speech published in the Appendix of the *Globe*, expressly disclaimed having any authority to speak for the President (*Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong. 1 sess., *Appendix*, 370).

small hitch had threatened to impede the negotiations. This must be mentioned for the further light which it throws upon Polk's attitude. Before Polk's day, American offers to divide Oregon at the forty-ninth parallel had promised the free navigation of the Columbia River to British subjects. That concession had not been included in Buchanan's offer in the summer of 1845, Polk insisting that the exercise of that right in American territory would be a perennial source of friction. Buchanan, in his February letter to McLane, had warned the minister that this was one point which Polk could not accept and that a proposal containing it would probably not be submitted to the Senate at all. When Aberdeen's proposed treaty arrived, it was found to contain a clause to the effect that the navigation of the Columbia from the forty-ninth parallel to its mouth should be "free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to all British subjects trading with the same."

Here was, with some qualification, the condition against which Buchanan had warned McLane and which Polk had said he could never accept. Polk at first recorded doubt as to whether he ought even to send the project to the Senate for advice. Further negotiation might possibly have been expected to secure a concession from the British upon this point, but two circumstances warned against delay. War with Mexico had begun, making an arrangement with England imperative. In England the Peel Ministry retained power by a precarious hold, and Lord Aberdeen's successor at the Foreign Office was likely to be less compliant than he. It would be risky not to accept the British offer as it stood. The lawyers in Polk's Cabinet found a loophole for him in the argument that since the free navigation of the Columbia was limited to the Hudson's Bay Company and persons trading with it, the privilege would expire in 1859 with the Company's existing licence to trade in the Oregon country. The argument was probably specious,¹⁴ but Polk swallowed it, and with it the treaty, free navigation of the Columbia and all, thus being left in very much the situation of Byron's heroine, who,

Saying "I will ne'er consent," consented.

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¹⁴Aberdeen maintained that it had been understood between him and McLane that the Company's rights were unlimited in time (Miller, *Treaties*, V, 85-6).

FINANCING THE C.P.R., 1880-5

I

THE story of Canadian Pacific Railway finance during the period of initial construction has been frequently told.¹ From the formation of the C.P.R. syndicate in 1880 until completion of the main line in 1885, George Stephen, the president of the company, and his associates fought a long, up-hill struggle to avoid bankruptcy. Their difficulties were many and great: unexpected problems in construction and mounting costs, the hostility of powerful interests which made it difficult to borrow in either the London or the New York money markets, the fears of Sir John Macdonald's associates in the Canadian Cabinet which made it difficult to secure governmental assistance, and the treachery or lukewarmness of some of Stephen's own associates. All conspired against the C.P.R. project.

By April of 1885 the company appeared at the end of its resources. Only the courage and daring of Stephen and Donald Smith, later Lord Strathcona, who had made heavy personal commitments had kept it going so long. Yet on April 15, 1885, despairing of the necessary governmental assistance, Stephen wrote to Macdonald, "It is impossible for me to continue the struggle any longer. The delay in dealing with the C.P.R. matter . . . has finished me . . . and if it is continued must eventuate in the destruction of the company."² Nor did this appear an exaggeration. Van Horne, later Sir William, in charge of construction, wired to Stephen the next day, "Have no means paying wages, pay car can't be sent out, and unless we get immediate relief we must stop."³ Suddenly the difficulties vanished. The government provided the necessary assistance. The English financial house of Baring, which had previously held aloof from the C.P.R., floated a bond issue of \$15 million and the railway was triumphantly completed.

New light is thrown upon this initial phase of the C.P.R. by the Macdonald Papers. Professor Glazebrook has made use of them in his *A History of Transportation in Canada*; but they contain a wealth of material on this subject which could not be

¹See particularly G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada* (Toronto, 1938), 278-82; H. A. Innis, *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (London, 1923), 103-28.

²Public Archives of Canada, Macdonald Papers, Stephen to Macdonald, April 15, 1885.

³*Ibid.*, Stephen to Pope, April 16, 1885.

included in a general work and which merits more detailed treatment. The Macdonald Papers provide a wealth of evidence on the very great difficulties with which Stephen and his associates had to contend. They give many sidelights on the principal characters associated with the financing of the railroad. Of special significance is the evidence of strong personal animosities between some of the negotiators, which were important because of their bearing on the negotiations.

Of the personalities concerned in the promotion of the C.P.R., George Stephen emerges as the real hero. Donald Smith, of course, gave Stephen strong and loyal support, particularly in the most critical period in 1884-5. Sir John Macdonald, though frequently beset by men of little faith in the Cabinet, always came through in the end with additional assistance to the railway. Yet more than anyone else it was Stephen who was responsible for the successful completion of the project. His vigour, enthusiasm, and courage were largely responsible for holding his colleagues and the government in line and in the end securing that assistance which was necessary in 1885 for the completion of the railway. Stephen was a big-hearted, generous, impulsive man, fervent in praise of his friends and particularly of Smith of whom he wrote to Macdonald:

The pluck with which he has stood by me in my efforts to sustain the credit of the C.P.R. made it almost duty on my part to try & restore friendly relations between one who has stood so courageously by the company in its time of trouble and you to whom alone the C.P.R. owes its existence as a real Canadian Railway.⁴

On the other hand Stephen was a good hater. In his letter to Macdonald he constantly exploded against those who opposed or criticized the railway project. After an anti-C.P.R. speech in the Canadian parliament by Edward Blake, Stephen wrote: "I am so mad at Blake that I cannot write coherently about him or his speech. What a miserable creature he must be."⁵

This article is chiefly concerned with the efforts of Stephen to finance the C.P.R. There were, however, other characters who played a large part in the story.

Prominent among them was Sir John Rose, who had acted as a sort of unofficial agent for Canada until the appointment of Galt as High Commissioner in 1880. He and his company (Morton, Rose, and Company) were associated with the original C.P.R. syndicate in 1880. Rose continued to act as friend and

⁴*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Feb. 10, 1884.

⁵*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, June 18, 1885.

adviser to the C.P.R. during the entire period 1880-5. Toward the end of 1884, however, Stephen had pretty well lost faith in Rose's usefulness to the company. Moreover he was convinced that Sir John's son, Charles, who was the active manager of Morton, Rose, and Company after Sir John's retirement in 1876, was flirting with the Grand Trunk and intriguing against the C.P.R.

Sir Alexander T. Galt, the Canadian High Commissioner 1880-3, had no direct connection with the C.P.R. but was to some extent associated with Canadian governmental finance in London. His utterances, as those of Canada's official representative, were of some importance in influencing the public attitude toward the C.P.R. Stephen fervently disliked Galt, whom he regarded as a meddlesome busybody. Stephen thought that Galt was much too closely associated with the house of Baring, who would have nothing to do with the C.P.R. (prior to 1885) although they shared with Glyn, Mills, and Company the position of financial agents for Canada. A specimen of Stephen's attitude toward Galt is provided in this explosion to Macdonald:

Galt having done his friends Barings Glyns a service and placed himself under obligations to them and to the G.T.R. it is not to be expected he would be violently agitated did we get into trouble. As to his judgment on our financial requirements long experience has taught me that his judgment on such questions is worse than useless, . . . what does he know about New York, his experience in it has been that of a gambler in mining stocks not one of which ever succeeded.⁶

C. J. Brydges had formerly been general manager of the Grand Trunk, and in this period was Land Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, a position which he had secured through the good offices of Sir John Rose. Stephen always regarded him as a schemer against the C.P.R. and a fellow conspirator with Galt. "He *professes* to me to be extra friendly to C.P.R.," wrote Stephen, "but that does not deceive me. I know he is sowing 'tares amongst wheat'." Stephen considered Brydges's utterance about C.P.R. land policy particularly injurious to the prospects of C.P.R. land sales. "How can he expect me to be friendly with him stabbing us in the back in that way?" he complained.⁷

Sir John Macdonald was, of course, Stephen's ultimate supporter in each crisis, although Macdonald's hesitancy in the face of Cabinet apprehensions at times plunged Stephen into the

⁶*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 11, 1882.

⁷*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 25, 1884.

⁸*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 4, 1883.

depths of depression. Sir Leonard Tilley, Macdonald's minister of finance, was a man of less faith in regard to the C.P.R. than Macdonald, and a consistent raiser of difficulties in the way of further assistance to the railway during the final crisis 1884-5.

The Grand Trunk Railway and the Northern Pacific Railway were the bitter British and American opponents of the C.P.R. in the London and New York money markets respectively. Stephen regarded them as responsible for most of the hostile articles which appeared in the American and British press in an effort to injure the credit of the company. Both the Grand Trunk and the Northern Pacific group attempted also, by acquiring control of small Canadian railways, to achieve railway combinations which would doom the C.P.R. to desperate competition from the start.

Stephen's occasional fits of depression, beset as he was by the hostility of foes and the faint-heartedness of friends, may well be understood. It is in the light of all these circumstances that I propose to trace briefly the negotiations of Stephen and his associates.

II

The opening period of negotiations in 1880 and 1881 revealed many of the difficulties with which Stephen would have to contend. The C.P.R. charter was, of course, awarded to a syndicate headed by Stephen and including Morton, Rose, and Company of London, Morton, Bliss, and Company of New York, Kohn, Reinach, and Company of Paris, J. S. Kennedy and Company of New York, and several other Americans including James J. Hill. The terms of the charter are well known. The government was to assist the company with 710 miles of completed railway, a cash subsidy of \$25 million, and 25 million acres of selected farming land in the prairie region. The cost of the work was estimated, very modestly, at \$45 million. The company was to raise the \$20 million which would be required in addition to the government subsidy.

Stephen had some difficulty in organizing the syndicate. The French group was particularly difficult but Macdonald was anxious for their adherence because of the prestige which a French connection would give the project in Quebec.⁹ The French were anxious for some assurance of immediate profit.¹⁰ However eventually they came over to the idea "of waiting for results and looking to the development of the property for their profits."¹¹

⁹*Ibid.*, Rose to Stephen, Dec. 14, 1880.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Nov. 7, 1880.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 23, 1881.

Macdonald was somewhat concerned at the strength of American influence in the syndicate and had to be assured by Stephen that all his Minnesota associates were ex-Canadians¹² and that anyway there was no danger of the company getting into the control of the St. Paul group.¹³

Signs soon began to appear of further difficulties. Barings, closely associated with the G.T.R., would have nothing to do with the new project. "I can see we have nothing but hostility to expect from Barings and Glyns" wrote Stephen on December 16, 1880.¹⁴ Later he reported having met some members of the firm socially but that they were silent in regard to the C.P.R.¹⁵

Stephen's own manner may have been a disadvantage to him as a negotiator. Rose reported, "He is so Earnest & self-reliant that he perhaps places too little account on certain accessories that may be of importance—not only with him—but to the Coy."¹⁶ Rose thought that Stephen should make greater use of Galt who was *persona grata* with Barings.¹⁷ But Stephen found it difficult to overcome his dislike of Galt and wrote to Macdonald, "I cannot trust to him as I once could."¹⁸ In general Stephen appears to have been in a pretty independent frame of mind and boasted "we shall not *beg* for money either here or elsewhere."¹⁹ This was an attitude of which he was soon to tire.

More alarming than the coolness of Barings was the active hostility of the Northern Pacific group in the United States. Rose assured Stephen at the outset that the Northern Pacific would be a thorn in his side.²⁰ The force of this warning soon became apparent. In August of 1881 Stephen was complaining to Rose and Macdonald that the Northern Pacific had bought one small line in Manitoba and were negotiating for another with the object of drawing trade south of the border.²¹ Villard, the president of the Northern Pacific, said Stephen, was at work by every means in his power to get a foothold in Manitoba. Even more alarming, at the end of 1881, was the prospect of the Northern Pacific purchasing the Quebec provincial railways and connecting

¹²*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Nov. 13, 1880.

¹³*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 23, 1881.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Dec. 16, 1880.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 23, 1881.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Rose to (Macdonald), undated letter.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Rose to Macdonald, Feb. 4, 1881.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 23, 1881.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*Ibid.*, Rose to Stephen, Dec. 14, 1880.

²¹*Ibid.*, Stephen to Rose, Aug. 15, 1881; Stephen to Macdonald, Aug. 27, 1881.

them with the Northern Pacific at Sault Ste. Marie. Chapleau, the Quebec premier, seemed disposed to sell his railways to the highest bidder. Macdonald was thoroughly alarmed and informed Stephen that Chapleau had recently been in New York, no doubt to see the Northern Pacific People.²² Stephen suggested that the C.P.R. should counter the move by leasing the Quebec lines.²³ Chapleau told Macdonald that he had had a *bona fide* offer of \$400,000 per annum rental with the right of purchase at eight millions within two years.²⁴ Stephen accordingly offered Chapleau a proposal that the C.P.R. should buy the Quebec roads at \$8,750,000 payable in fifty years, with interest at 4 per cent payable half yearly in advance.²⁵

Nothing came of the incident immediately and indeed the principal opponent for control of Quebec railways was the Grand Trunk. This was indicated by the struggle for control of the North Shore Railway which was finally purchased by the C.P.R. in 1885.²⁶ Yet the earlier incident provided a striking indication of the type of opposition with which Stephen had to contend.

In 1882 and 1883 the C.P.R. began to encounter the difficulties which all but bankrupted the company in 1884 and '85. Costs of construction had been a great deal more than anticipated, Stephen reported in September of 1882.²⁷ The effort to raise funds from land grant bonds, to be taken up largely by the Canadian North-west Land Company, proved a failure. This was due to the slowness of land sales owing to difficulties of settlement and attacks by hostile interests.²⁸ The C.P.R. had to fall back on other sources of income. The company raised an additional five million dollars by calling for another instalment of payments on stock. To meet his share, Stephen was compelled to sell his Bank of Montreal stock. In November of 1882 he was again advising Macdonald of the company's financial difficulties.²⁹ This was a theme on which Stephen was to ring the changes during the next three years.

In December of 1882 the authorized stock of the company was increased from \$25 million to \$100 million. This enabled Stephen to ease the pressure by the sale of \$10 million worth of

²²*Ibid.*, Macdonald to Stephen, Oct. 19, 1881.

²³*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Dec. 30, 1881.

²⁴*Ibid.*, Macdonald to Stephen, Jan. 6, 1882.

²⁵*Ibid.*, Stephen to Chapleau, Jan. 9, 1882.

²⁶See Innis, *History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 122-4.

²⁷Macdonald Papers, Stephen to Macdonald, Sept. 7, 1882.

²⁸Innis, *History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 104, 107-8.

²⁹Macdonald Papers, Stephen to Macdonald, Nov. 21, 1882.

stock to a group of financial houses in New York, London, Paris, and Amsterdam early in 1883.³⁰ According to Rose, the success of the negotiations leading to this purchase was "almost wholly due to the untiring efforts of our friend Stephen, whose zeal, energy, confidence in himself and the enterprize, seem to inspire everybody else with the like confidence." Galt was concerned lest the Americans in the group, which he understood to include W. H. Vanderbilt, Morgan, and Seligman, would control the company and warned Macdonald accordingly.³¹

Despite this *coup* the company was again in difficulties by the end of the year and Stephen declared to Macdonald on December 15, "Now there is no way in God's earth, by which these debts can be paid off but by a loan to the Coy. by the Govt. of \$15,000,000. . ."³²

To no small extent the company's difficulties resulted from hostile attacks in England, Canada, and the United States. According to Stephen these were inspired by the continued attacks of the Grand Trunk and the Northern Pacific. As a typical example of what the C.P.R. had to encounter he enclosed an excerpt from the *Wall Street Daily News* to Macdonald:

There is one stock on the list whose pretensions deserve to be thoroughly exposed. The Can. Pac. is masquerading around as a five per cent security. It is a dead skin, and every investor who buys the stock on the humbugging pretenses made for it will lose every cent. The road itself was not called for by commercial necessity. Harper's Three Continents Backbone Railroad down the Rocky Mountains and the Andes was scarcely a wilder scheme than that of building a railroad for 2,600 miles through an unbroken wilderness, in the frozen regions of the North, edging on to the Arctic circle, . . .³³

Stephen was particularly concerned with the opposition of the Grand Trunk group both in England and Canada. The ramifications of Grand Trunk influence were very wide. Barings had been closely associated with the G.T.R. So had Galt and Brydges. According to Stephen there were a number of strong Grand Trunk supporters on the directorate of the Bank of Montreal. The Grand Trunk alliance with the Liberals in Canada he regarded with some misgivings. Grand Trunk control of Mowat's Ontario government, he said, was scandalous. The *Globe* had

³⁰*Ibid.*, Telegram, Rose to Macdonald, Feb. 1, 1883; Rose to Macdonald, Letter, Feb. 1, 1883.

³¹*Ibid.*, Galt to Macdonald, Jan. 13, 1883.

³²*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Dec. 15, 1883.

³³*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Nov. 19, 1883, enclosure.

really become the G.T.R. organ and none of the Canadian papers could criticize the G.T.R. for fear of losing its advertising account.³⁴

The strength of its influence made it possible for the Grand Trunk to place endless difficulties in the way of the C.P.R. and to tighten the London money market against it. Having decided that the G.T.R. would spare no pains to defeat his project Stephen was much concerned at an incident which occurred in December, 1883. The C.P.R. was anxious, at that time, to secure control of the Ontario and Quebec Railway and dependent lines. The system included the Toronto, Grey and Bruce, the London Junction and the Credit Valley railways. At this point mysterious overtures for purchase of the Ontario and Quebec were made to the Canadian government by "persons of high financial standing in London, equally friendly with you [Stephen] and with the Grand Trunk." Stephen immediately suspected the Grand Trunk of a conspiracy against the Ontario division of the C.P.R. Moreover he suspected that Charles Rose, Sir John's son, who had been left in charge of Morton, Rose, and Company, would gladly sell out his interest in the Ontario and Quebec and the Credit Valley railway, without reference to the C.P.R.³⁵ The result was the prompt leasing of the Ontario and Quebec by the C.P.R., in January, 1884.

While Stephen was struggling with the problems of increasing costs and diminished credit, construction of the railway was of course progressing. By November of 1883 he was able to report that the main line was completed except for 290 miles between the summit of the Rockies and Kamloops and 450 miles north of Lake Superior.³⁶ But it was those two gaps which almost wrecked the company. Difficulties continued to increase. "I do not, at the moment, see how we are to get the money to keep the work going," wrote Stephen on January 22, 1884.³⁷

An incident in November, 1883, made very bad blood between Donald Smith and Sir John Rose, and increased the difficulty of maintaining amicable relations between Rose and the company. At the annual meeting of the Hudson's Bay Company Smith led an attack upon the board, of which Rose was a member, and also particularly against Brydges, who was a protégé of Rose. The meeting adopted the drastic step of voting to turn out the board.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 4, 1883, Feb. 18, 1883, Jan. 2, 1884.

³⁵*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Dec. 3, 1883, enclosing A. Campbell to Stephen, Dec. 2, 1883.

³⁶*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Nov. 19, 1883.

³⁷*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 22, 1884.

Eventually the legal advisers of the company declared the vote void and a compromise was arranged by which the Smith group was given some representation on the board. Stephen tried to keep clear of the incident; but this must have been difficult owing to his close association with Smith.³⁸ Brydges continued to be a cause of trouble; in January, 1884, he was in Canada and, according to Stephen, was supplying the Liberals with material to use against the C.P.R.³⁹

The decision of the government in February, 1884, to give additional assistance, largely the result of Tupper's influence in the House of Commons, again eased the pressure upon the company's finances.⁴⁰ Tupper succeeded in getting passed the bill providing for a loan of \$22,500,000 for four years at four per cent and secured by a lien on the main line of the railway. Yet C.P.R. credit did not improve in the London market. Stephen reported on April 26, "I am here a week now, & what between the east wind and the daily attacks in the G.T.R. city organs, on the C.P.R. aided by New York Bear operations I have had rather a lively time of it. The stock is selling today at 47½. . . & in the present state of feeling . . . there is no saying how much lower it may go."⁴¹

By July of 1884 the situation was so serious that Stephen, Smith, and R. B. Angus were enabled to float a four months' loan, on the basis of C.P.R. land bonds, only by giving their personal guarantee. Morton, Rose, and Company, the erstwhile friends of the company, had cabled that they could not aid the C.P.R. in any way and Stephen declined to ask the Bank of Montreal for additional credit "as we were full up to the line agreed on."⁴²

The defection of Morton, Rose, and Company was probably due in part to the attitude of Charles Rose. Sir John Rose, however, was also suffering from a severe case of nerves owing to the bitter attacks which had been made upon the standing of Morton, Rose, and Company because of its C.P.R. commitments.⁴³ These attacks culminated in Rose being asked in August, 1884, to resign from the London Committee of the Bank of Montreal on the plea that "the interests of the Bank of Montreal may conflict with those of your other connections." Rose declined to

³⁸*Ibid.*, Rose to Macdonald, Nov. 24, Dec. 1, Dec. 19, Dec. 29, 1883; Stephen to Macdonald, Dec. 3, 1883.

³⁹*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 25, 1884.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Feb. 16, 1884.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, April 26, 1884.

⁴²*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, July 23, 1884.

⁴³*Ibid.*, Rose to Macdonald, July 24, 1884.

retire.⁴⁴ But these repeated attacks did not dispose him to undertake further assistance to the C.P.R. With construction far from complete and the promoters reduced to the use of their personal resources in order to meet day-to-day expenses, the position of the company was obviously precarious.

III

By the summer of 1884 Stephen had decided to make a major shift in policy. Morton, Rose, and Company he felt to be a broken reed. "They seem perfectly 'cowed' and unable to help us in any way," he wrote on July 19. "We must get into connection with a stronger and more courageous firm over there without delay." Barings appeared to be the answer, despite their previous aloofness, and Stephen remarked, "I wish we had a firm like Barings to represent us in London such a connection would solve all our difficulties."⁴⁵

Ways and means were, however, available. Stephen's financial agents in New York were J. Kennedy Tod Company, which included Alexander Baring, a young member of the banking family, and W. H. Northcote who had been trained in Barings. Stephen persuaded young Baring to go to London and attempt to persuade Barings to become agents for the C.P.R.⁴⁶

Macdonald objected to these overtures on the score of his old friendship with Sir John Rose. But Stephen informed him that Morton, Rose, and Company did not let Sir John know much about their business and that Charles Rose would probably prefer to have the C.P.R. collapse and fall into the control of the Grand Trunk.⁴⁷ Macdonald appears to have accepted these explanations. He wrote to Barings assuring them that he had been informed that Alexander Baring would shortly call on them "with a proposal." Macdonald professed to be ignorant of its nature but added "the whole Dominion has and must always have a deep interest in the success of its greatest national enterprise."⁴⁸

Young Baring reported that his negotiations appeared to be going favourably.⁴⁹ It seems extremely probable that Barings' eventual decision to support the railway may have been partly the result of this initial overture.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, Rose to Macdonald, Sept. 11, 1884, enclosures.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, July 19, 1884.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Aug. 19, 1884.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Aug. 22, 1884.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, Macdonald to Messrs. Baring, Sept. 6, 1884.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Sept. 24, 1884.

Meanwhile, however, the position of the C.P.R. continued to deteriorate. Stephen wrote to Macdonald on December 29 that C.P.R. stock in New York was at 43½ and there was no saying where it would go.⁵⁰ Tupper, Tilley, and Rose continued to debate various schemes for assistance to the company but, complained Stephen, "What alarms me is the apprehension that the Patient will die while the Doctors are deliberating on the remedy to be applied."⁵¹ Rose wailed from London, "You have no idea to what extent the Papers teem with attacks on Canadian credit," and predicted that if the C.P.R. passed the next dividend it would have a disastrous effect on the permanent credit of the company.⁵²

Stephen and Smith met this crisis by borrowing \$650,000 on their personal credit and paid the dividend.⁵³ In addition, this doughty pair endorsed a five months' note for a million dollars to provide current funds to keep the company going. "There is not a business man in all Canada, knowing the facts," wrote Stephen, "but would say we were a couple of fools for our pains . . . personal interests have become quite a secondary affair with either of us."⁵⁴ What courage, with personal ruin as well as that of the company staring them in the face! Yet the crisis continued and by April 16 when Van Horne reported that there was no money left to pay wages Stephen appeared ready to throw up the sponge.⁵⁵

The clouds were, however, beginning to lift. Tupper reported from London that he had discussed C.P.R. and G.T.R. affairs with Barings and Glynns and that at least he did not anticipate unfriendly action from that quarter.⁵⁶ In May the government decided upon an additional temporary loan of five million dollars to the C.P.R.⁵⁷ This resolution culminated in the government bill of July, 1885, providing the additional assistance which made the completion of the main line a certainty.⁵⁸ By this Act, stock in the hands of the government was cancelled and \$35 million provided in its place. Of this, \$15 million was credited to the company and the balance held against an equal amount of the company's debt to the government. Of the company's share

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Dec. 29, 1884.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 14, 1885.

⁵²*Ibid.*, Rose to Macdonald, Jan. 22, 1885.

⁵³*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Jan. 24, 1885.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Feb. 9, 1885.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, April 15, 1885; Stephen to Pope, April 16, 1885.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, Tupper to Macdonald, April, 1885.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, Macdonald to C. F. Smithers, April 24, 1885; Tilley to Macdonald, May 5, 1885; Tilley to Macdonald, May 23, 1885.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, June 28, 1885.

\$8 million was held by the government as security for a \$5 million loan to the company.

Barings finally agreed to issue a loan of three million pounds sterling and by July 6, 1885, negotiations, aided by Tupper's good offices, had progressed so far that Stephen was ready to leave for London to conclude the arrangement.⁵⁹ Stephen reported that on his arrival at Liverpool he was met by a representative of Barings, to secure his assent to the prospectus, which he gave. Before Stephen reached Euston station the issue was out. His remarks on the success of the issue indicate once more the nature of the opposition and the strength of the house of Baring:

Between ourselves I doubt if much over half have been actually sold to Investors. There was a dead set made against the bonds by G.T.R. folks and there is not another House in London could have done what Barings have accomplished. Morton Rose Co. while pretending to be highly pleased are *feeling* very sore, but that will soon pass away.⁶⁰

Barings and their friends took up half the loan to begin with and then proceeded to sell the bonds "steadily and slowly at 96 to 96½."⁶¹

The crisis was over. Stephen, Smith, and Macdonald had won through.

D. C. MASTERS

United College, Winnipeg.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, July 6, 1885.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, July 23, 1885.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, Stephen to Macdonald, Oct. 3, 1885.

GEORGE BROWN, SIR JOHN MACDONALD, AND THE "WORKINGMAN"

AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

I

ON the north side of King Street, Toronto, a short distance east from Yonge, there stood in 1872 the offices of the *Globe* Printing Company. It was the sixth building which had been occupied by the *Globe* since its establishment back in 1844; and the solid opulence of its construction reflected the prosperity, the popularity, and the enormous influence which the newspaper had gradually come to enjoy. Built of white brick, faced with imported stone, and lighted by the tall, narrow windows which were characteristic of the period, the building provided the ample accommodation of three spacious storeys.¹ The first floor was occupied by the counting house and the big printing presses; the third was taken up with editorial offices and news rooms; and in between, occupying the whole front of the second storey and overlooking the noisy activity of King Street, was the editorial sanctum of the proprietor and editor, George Brown. Here was the source and centre of Brown's authority and influence. Here for the last fifteen years of his life, he did his best work as critic, promoter, and crusader; and here also, at half-past four on the afternoon of March 25, 1880, George Bennett, the employee discharged for "intemperance," fired the shot that brought an end to the dynamic and assertive labours of the journalist's career.

In 1872 this last grotesque tragedy was still eight years away. George Brown was only fifty-four years old. For twenty years he had played a part of central importance in Canadian politics; and there seemed no good reason why he should not continue to play it with equal ability for another twenty years more. It was true that in 1867, in the first election for the federal House of Commons, he had been defeated in the constituency of South Ontario; and it was well-known that he had unregretfully accepted this defeat as his release from active parliamentary life. For most men such a retirement would have brought political death; but in Brown's case it resulted merely in a more effective concentration of political activity. As a politician, the editor of the

¹J. Timperlake, *Illustrated Toronto, Past and Present* (Toronto, 1877), 205-8.

Globe had always been inhibited and frustrated by a naïve maladroitness, an uncompromising sincerity, an intractable spirit of independence; but as a journalist, his vigour, his enthusiasm and his assurance had brought him unbroken and increasing success. It was still his fixed determination "to see the Liberal party reunited and in the ascendant"; and in the early months of 1872 it almost seemed as if his hopes were soon to be realized to the full. Already, in December, 1871, the Liberals, under Edward Blake, had driven the John Sandfield Macdonald government from office in the province of Ontario; and, in the federal general election which was inescapably approaching in 1872, it seemed highly probable that the Liberals might dislodge the John Alexander Macdonald administration from power in the Dominion. The campaign neared its climax; the issue promised to be wholly favourable; and George Brown, with all his stormy energy and his confident dogmatism, grasped the initiative and pressed the offensive against his enemies.

It was at this point that something occurred which altered the whole face of the struggle. Superficially the affair was not an important one. It was, in fact, a printers' strike in the city of Toronto, without, apparently, any political implications whatever. There was no obvious reason why it should be avoided. On the contrary, by its very nature, it insistently invited the interference of the editor and proprietor of the *Globe*. The printing and publishing business was surely alone involved; and however much he might be inclined to admit his failure as a politician, Brown was justifiably convinced that as a journalist he was a complete and unqualified success. He knew all about the printing and publishing business; he wielded an authority in the newspaper world which was surely the rightful prerogative of his enterprise and his success. The strike annoyed him as a journalist, exasperated him as a proprietor, outraged him as a stout believer in the Cobdenite philosophy of free enterprise and *laissez-faire*. And once his own shop became involved, he acted with more than usual of his truculent abruptness and overbearing confidence. He was blind to the political perils involved. His character, his training, and his interests alike unfitted him to appreciate the significance of the labour movement and the importance of the industrial revolution which lay back of it.

Yet the labour movement, pushed forward by the spread of industrialism and the recurrence of good times, was now reaching significant proportions. In both Great Britain and the United

States, the two countries with which British North America had been most closely associated in the past, and by which the Dominion of Canada was to be most deeply influenced in the future, the cause of organized labour had advanced rapidly in the 1850's and 1860's.² In both countries the trade unions had created new forms of organization, developed new programmes and objectives, acquired a new position of greater prestige and security within the community as a whole. The growth of national unions, the spread of urban trade councils or assemblies, were prominent features of the movement in both the old world and the new; and the common urge toward some kind of centralized union had come to be embodied in such temporary and imperfect forms as the "Junta" of England and the National Labour Union of the United States. Political and social reforms, as well as industrial protection and mutual benefits, were all included in the varied programmes of these working-class organizations. At times their plans might seem vague and over-ambitious; but on the other hand they had set their hopes also on certain practical objectives of vital and immense importance. The agitation for the eight-hour day had started in the United States as early as 1864; the great struggle for the nine-hour day got under way in England in 1871. In England, moreover, the unions had just completed the first round of their long fight to win the security of legal status. Under prolonged and insistent pressure the Gladstone government had at length consented in 1871 to enact the Trade Union Bill which freed the unions from the old common-law restrictions as combinations in restraint of trade. It was a great concession; but it was not granted without conditions by any means. In the same year the government also passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act which subjected the newly legalized unions to penalties for picketing and other forms of "molestation" and "intimidation." It was an ambiguous conclusion to the first stage of the struggle for legal status. The round was over; but it was not yet very certain which of the two contestants had won it.

This was the atmosphere of tension and excitement, the spirit of effort and accomplishment, which at that time pervaded the working-class movements of the English-speaking world. Two

²See G. D. H. Cole, *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement, 1789-1937* (London, 1937); J. R. Commons et al., *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1918), II; N. J. Ware, *The Labour Movement in the United States, 1860-1895* (New York and London, 1929).

decades—even a single decade—before, the tiny isolated unions of British North America would have remained unaffected by these controversies and, indeed, largely ignorant of their existence; but in the meantime a rapid and drastic change of circumstances had brought Canadian labour out of its old isolation and into sensitive communication with the trade union movements of the outside world. The railway had brought the industrial revolution to British North America; the Crimean War and the American Civil War had given British North American manufacturers an exceptional opportunity to exploit their own home market; and, as Canadian industry expanded, as boom periods succeeded each other in rapid succession, the ranks of Canadian labour began steadily to expand. Powerful and aggressive trade unions crossed the ocean from England, and the border from the United States, to establish locals in different parts of the Dominion; and in active manufacturing centres such as Toronto and Hamilton, central trade assemblies on the English and American model were formed to bring the different unions and workers' societies of these cities together. By 1870 the fifty thousand industrial labourers of Canada had developed far more habits of co-operation among themselves and far more means of communication with the outside world than they had ever possessed in the past.³

Prominent—perhaps even foremost—among these new Canadian working-class organizations were the Typographical Societies or printers' unions. In all probability the Typographical Society of Quebec City should be regarded as the first Canadian union; and the Toronto Typographical Society, only slightly younger than its French-Canadian associate, had had an unbroken existence which dated back as far as 1844. In the 1860's and early 1870's the new International Typographical Union, with headquarters in the United States, began to bring into its ranks the already existing Canadian societies and to establish new locals in different parts of Canada. In 1866, some time after it had been first invited, the Toronto Society joined the International Union as Local No. 91; and for the next few years, under a number of able and vigorous leaders, its growth was rapid and promising. Obviously the printers' union was one of the most active and progressive in the city; and in 1871, when the first Canadian "city central," the Toronto Trades Assembly, was established in the provincial capital, J. S. Williams of the Toronto Typographi-

³H. A. Logan, *The History of Trade Union Organization in Canada* (Chicago, 1928).

cal Union was made its first president. The printers were ready and waiting for the struggles of the future. And already they had been tried and nerved by the conflicts of the past. It was, moreover, during these early controversies of the 1850's that they had first made a remarkable discovery—a discovery of which they were to be sharply reminded in the very near future. They had found in George Brown of the *Globe* their most obstinate and resourceful opponent in the city of Toronto.

It was almost certain, therefore, when the decade of the 1870's opened that Canadian labour would take its own small place in the working-class crusades of the period. It was almost equally certain that the Toronto Typographical Union would be in the forefront of any Canadian labour controversy that might break out. In 1871, when the agitation for the shorter working day was at its height in Great Britain and the United States, the new Nine Hours League in Hamilton and the Trades Assembly in Toronto began to press vigorously for a reduction of hours. On March 15, 1872, in the Toronto Music Hall, Richard Trevellick, a prominent American labour leader and one of the officials in the newly formed National Labour Union in the United States, addressed a large and enthusiastic working-class audience in support of the nine-hour movement.⁴ For days the town buzzed with debate over Trevellick's claim that the working man had a "natural right" to the nine-hour day for education and improvement. But, while most people talked and argued, the Toronto printers, in characteristic fashion, had been proceeding rapidly from negotiations with their employers to direct action against them. The dispute, like most labour disputes before and since, was a complicated one; but, broadly speaking, the printers demanded the fifty-four-hour week without reduction of pay. On March 13 they issued their ultimatum to the master printers. On March 19 the master printers emphatically rejected it; and six days later the members of the Toronto Typographical Union walked out on strike.

II

This was the peremptory challenge which George Brown had to meet. He responded to it with the greatest possible energy and conviction. From the start he took a prominent place in the employers' committee which fought the strike. The great editorial office overlooking King Street became the appointed

⁴The *Toronto Leader*, March 16, 1872.

rendezvous for conclaves of furious master printers; and the columns of the *Globe* continued, almost without interruption, to record the astonishment, the outraged pride, and the rising moral indignation of its proprietor. In George Brown's conviction the Canadian nine-hour movement was both questionable in its associations and unsound in its principles. It had been imported from the United States (the *Globe* persistently refused to recognize the specifically English origin of the nine-hour agitation) by a few professional agitators of whom Trelvellick was the chief. And the resulting conflict, arbitrarily aroused in the peaceful setting of Canadian society, could only be regarded as profoundly incongruous, factious, and unnatural. "We have no such class as those styled capitalists in other countries," declared the *Globe* roundly. "The whole people are the capitalists of Canada We have no Rothschilds in Canada, no Jacob Astors, no Vanderbilts, no Tweeds, no Goulds, no Jim Fisks We all work. We all began with nothing. We have all got by hard work all we own—and the richest among us work on still and like to do it."⁵ There could be, therefore, no such thing as a class struggle in Canada; but there could be—and would be—the very real struggle of the capitalists of Canada, of the people of Canada, that is, with George Brown at their head, against the insolent despotism of a few demagogues from the United States. "At whatever cost," declared the *Globe*, speaking in the name of the Toronto newspaper proprietors, "they are determined to be masters of their own offices. They have submitted long enough to the insolent dictation of a few reckless lads who have managed to control the action of the Society—but they will do so no longer."⁶

These were brave words, spoken with all Brown's usual aggressive confidence. And, yet at the very moment when they were uttered, the first signs of trouble, of future political embarrassment, had already appeared. The regrettable fact was that the master printers of Toronto were not completely united on the subject of the strike. It was true that the group which met in Brown's office was certainly a numerous and imposing one. There were John Ross Robertson of the *Daily Telegraph*, James Moylan of the *Canadian Freeman*, J. B. Cook of the *Express*, and E. R. Stinson of the *Christian Herald*. The representatives of Hunter, Rose and Company, Copp, Clark and Company, the Methodist Book Room, and the other printing establishments

⁵The *Toronto Globe*, March 23, 1872.

⁶The *Globe*, March 22, 1872.

of the city were all present, at least at the opening meetings. In fact, at the beginning there was only one important empty place—one solitary but highly significant absentee. It was James Beaty, a Conservative politician of some standing and the proprietor and editor of one of the local daily papers, the *Toronto Leader*. Actually, at the moment when the strike broke out, the *Leader* was apparently a journal of decreasing circulation and declining influence. It was regarded none too favourably, even by the Conservatives themselves. In fact a movement in which Sir John Macdonald and other prominent Tories participated had already begun to establish a new Conservative newspaper with able editorship and sound financial backing to carry the fight forward more successfully against the *Globe*; and later on in that very year these plans resulted in the publication of the *Toronto Mail*. But at the moment, James Beaty's *Leader*, however ineffective and moribund, was the leading Conservative paper; and James Beaty alone of all the newspaper proprietors in the city graciously and unreservedly conceded the demands of the Toronto Typographical Union. He did even more. He wrote editorials in defence of the printers, published long and favourable news accounts of their proceedings, printed their advertisements and threw open his correspondence columns to the angry letters of the strikers and their wives. Having made his decision he proceeded to extract from it the utmost amount of capital for the benefit of his newspaper, his own political career, and the fortunes of the Conservative party. He was invited to labour meetings; the working-class circulation of the *Leader* began to go up. An impression rapidly pervaded the city that the Liberals were hand in glove with the capitalists and that the Conservatives were the true friends of the working man.

All this, however, did not deter the majority of the master printers from their policy of resistance. In particular the popularity of James Beaty had no effect whatever upon the conviction of George Brown. Brown was flushed and excited by the just anger of a righteous cause. He was both cunning in defence and aggressive in attack. On the one hand he brought country printers to Toronto and continued triumphantly to issue the *Globe*; and on the other hand he and his fellow proprietors spied upon the members of the Typographical Union and did everything in their power to impede and harass their activities. In the eyes of these master printers a combination of capitalists,

united to impose a uniform set of hours and wages, was entirely lawful; but a combination of workmen, united to maintain another and slightly different system of hours and wages, was entirely illegitimate. As early as March 28, the *Leader* asserted that the master printers had tried to have the strikers arrested on charges of vagrancy;⁷ and the very next day, in a threatening editorial, the *Globe* revealed that urgent efforts were in fact being made to combat the "bribery" and "intimidation" by which the strikers sought to induce the scabs to leave their new employment.⁸ "This can, however, no longer be submitted to," the *Globe* declared, "and steps have been taken for the detection and prompt prosecution of all guilty of indictable offences." Among the steps taken was the employment of a private detective from Ottawa who prowled about the city streets seeking evidence against the union members. Everything looked as if the master printers were preparing a major attack; and two weeks later the blow fell. On April 16—the day after the united working men of Toronto had held a great demonstration in Queen's Park in favour of the nine-hour day—Magistrate Macnabb issued warrants for the arrest of twenty-three printers, the members of the "Vigilance Committee" of the Toronto Typographical Union, on charges of conspiracy.

Two days later, on April 18, the trial of the arrested printers began before Magistrate Macnabb.⁹ The issue was of crucial importance for the entire future of organized labour in Canada, and the Toronto Typographical Union was acutely aware of the fact that its whole strength must be flung into the struggle. It selected D'Arcy Boulton, A. W. Lauder, Dr. C. McMichael as chief counsel; and these men brought considerable resources of knowledge, experience, and ability to the defence. From the start they did their clever best; but it soon became apparent that they were struggling against forces which were very potent and might prove irresistible. At the very beginning the magistrate showed himself irascible and unsympathetic. A cheer was raised when the prisoners first appeared. Macnabb instantly cleared the court; and it remained unopened during the entire course of the first hearing. It was a bad beginning. The magistrate's testiness was unfortunate; but more serious were the dogmatic convictions which he gradually revealed, and more

⁷The *Leader*, March 28, 1872.

⁸The *Globe*, March 29, 1872.

⁹See the *Globe*, April 19, May 7, for detailed accounts of the trial.

disastrous still was the unreformed state of the Canadian law upon which these convictions were founded.

There was only one line of attack open to Messrs. Lauder, Boulton, and McMichael. They took it and tried hard to establish a conspiracy on the employers' side. Witnesses were asked to reveal who had requested them to give evidence. E. J. O'Neil, the detective sent from Ottawa, was pressed to explain who had hired his services in Toronto. Again and again the defence lawyers manœuvred for a renewal of this flank attack; and again and again the magistrate headed them off in disorder.

"We want to prove a conspiracy on the other side," said Lauder frankly.

"But," declared Macnabb, "you cannot bring it in as a set off."

On this point the magistrate remained adamant. He would not accept such evidence as material; and he refused to compel witnesses to give it.

"You need not answer that," he abruptly told one man whom D'Arcy Boulton was cross-questioning.

"I decline to answer that question," said the witness.

Boulton was visibly annoyed.

"We will have you in a place shortly," he told the witness with evident fury, "where we will make you answer."

It was inevitable, however, that the chief efforts of Boulton and his associates should be defensive in character. They argued that the Toronto Typographical Union was a combination which sought to benefit its own members and not to injure others; that it had been tacitly accepted as a legitimate institution in the community for over a quarter century; and that the master printers had themselves negotiated with it and on several occasions at least had acceded to its demands.

"Does that make it legal?" interposed Macnabb.

"We want to show the custom," replied Lauder.

"If a man meets you on the street and demands your watch," said Macnabb impatiently "does your giving it to him make it legal? Here is an illegal act shown and you say because the other party acceded to it, it is not illegal."

"But," Lauder shot back, "we say it is not illegal."

Macnabb became more annoyed and more dogmatic.

"By law," he declared with assurance, "it is illegal to combine for certain purposes."

"We say that has to be proved," said Lauder stoutly.

The magistrate was plainly exasperated.

"There is no need to prove the law," he said with heat. "It is not a foreign law, it is the law of the land."

The trouble was, as Lauder himself tacitly admitted on one occasion, that there was a large element of truth in what Macnabb said. It had to be admitted that Canadian unions enjoyed no statutory protection at all. The legislatures of Canada had evidently never dealt with the subject of unions and combinations; and of course the British statutes relating to the matter did not extend to North America. Canadian unions had never been harassed by Pitt's Anti-Combination Laws of 1799; but on the other hand they had never been able to profit by the Francis Place Statutes of 1824 and 1825; and—which was even more important—they could not now derive any advantage from Gladstone's Trade Union Act of 1871. As the Crown lawyers pointed out on more than one occasion, the only law governing the whole matter in Canada was the common law; and under the common law successful prosecutions had sometimes been launched in England in the first part of the century against workmen who combined and struck. It was in the light of these precedents that Macnabb stopped the first day's hearing abruptly, when only a few witnesses had been heard. A continuation of the proceedings was, he declared, "entirely useless." A combination had been proved and the strike was an admitted fact. For a few moments it seemed as if the whole matter would be settled summarily, on the spot.

In actual fact the defence lawyers were able to get first one, and then a second, adjournment. These delays were helpful; but it seemed scarcely possible that they could alter the ultimate issue of the case. So far as the magistrate's court at least was concerned, the outcome appeared absolutely certain. The master printers had triumphed—triumphed easily. In fact, had they not triumphed too easily—so easily that their success scarcely looked like a triumph at all? They had been required to prove virtually nothing. The court had not even given them the chance to establish those scandalous overt acts of "intimidation" and "molestation" on the part of the strikers which had so horrified George Brown.

"From my recollection of the law," Macnabb had declared to the Crown lawyers, "combinations of this kind are illegal. You have proved that there has been and is a combination, and that there was a strike, and that these men are members."

"If your Honour is satisfied of that," answered Mackenzie, who was chief counsel for the prosecution, "we will only call one or two witnesses to prove certain very gross overt acts."

"These," said the magistrate simply, "are separate offences."

In other words, any union or society of workmen which went on strike in Canada in 1872 was an illegal combination. The working-class movement stood in a more vulnerable position in the Dominion than in either Great Britain or the United States. Canadian labour was governed by a set of antiquated common-law decisions; and it was on the basis of these outworn precedents that the master printers were certain to win their facile and almost empty victory. Certainly they had prepared for a much more difficult contest. They had hoped to brand the strikers with the stigma of a most reprehensible series of crimes. As the *Globe* confessed ruefully in an editorial of April 19, over twenty witnesses had waited vainly in court to testify to various acts of intimidation, coercion, bribery, and personal violence on the part of the strikers. They all remained unheard and unneeded. Even the energetic Mr. O'Neil might just as well have stayed in Ottawa. And the strange and awkward result was that really nothing at all had been proved against the striking printers. They ought to have looked like convicted malefactors when they left the court; but in actual fact they began to take on the unmistakable appearance of injured innocents. The prosecution, which ought to have ruined the Typographical Union, had suddenly and unexpectedly recoiled on the master printers. In the public eye they had been convicted of using an outworn, unreformed law to take an unfair advantage of their opponents. In the public eye, moreover, George Brown was the centre and inspiration of this "conspiracy." As A. W. Lauder said at the first court hearing, "there was no doubt George Brown was at the bottom of the whole thing."

III

In the meantime, from his post of vantage in Ottawa, Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada, was watching the controversy in Toronto with steadily rising interest. It was, of course, his business to be concerned with such matters; but at the moment his curiosity was perhaps even more thoroughly awakened than would have been normally the case. The term of the first parliament of the Dominion of Canada was inexorably approaching; and he was watching eagerly for any political

advantage—any political opportunity—that fortune might fling in his way. He was only too well aware that his government had been weakened by the Riel controversies and the Washington Treaty. He had only too much cause to fear that the defeat of the Sandfield Macdonald administration was simply the ominous prelude to the downfall of his own cabinet in Ottawa. Unquestionably he was disturbed. The last few months had been passed in uneasy preparation for the approaching election. He had made a visit of personal reconnaissance to western Ontario; he had discussed Conservative policy in long letters to his correspondents; he had taken an active part in the founding of the *Toronto Mail*.

It was at this point that the printers' strike broke out in Toronto. Almost from the start Macdonald was quick to see, and to exploit, its possibilities. In part, of course, he was influenced—and, indeed, committed—by the actions of James Beaty. But the Tory press and the Tory politicians of Toronto had little to teach him about the importance of the labour movement in particular and industrial affairs in general. He had far fewer direct contacts than Brown with the growing manufacturing system of the country; but he had a far greater instinctive appreciation of its social—and, above all, of its political—significance. A lawyer himself, an amateur in finance and economics who had always rather ostentatiously effaced himself in the presence of Galt and Hincks and Tilley, Macdonald nevertheless showed an extremely sensitive awareness of the economic and social developments in the Dominion. He was not unlike Disraeli in this, as in a number of other ways. Appropriately enough, at the very moment when the nine-hour movement was reaching its climax in Toronto, Hamilton, and the other manufacturing towns, he had been anxiously debating the commercial policy—the tariff policy—of the Conservative party. He had been interested in industry; now he saw that he must also devote himself to labour.

Fortune favoured him. As things stood now, this slight change in strategy had become almost ridiculously easy. He had been presented, as if by magic, with a policy which would at once gratify the working men and discomfit the Liberals. He had merely to re-enact, with suitable modifications, the two British statutes—the Trade Union Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871; and the unimpeachable orthodoxy of Gladstonian legislation would remove all doubts and silence all criticisms. The situation must have amused Macdonald immensely.

To confound George Brown with William Ewart Gladstone, to silence the disciple with the latest revelation from the master—this was a most gratifying manœuvre; and he set about it with enthusiasm and speed. On May 7, the very day on which the second hearing in the printers' trial was held before Magistrate Macnabb, he introduced his Trade Union Bills in parliament; and early in June, with virtually no opposition from the Liberals, they became law. The two measures were frankly based upon the British legislation of the previous year. On the one hand they freed Canadian unions from the antiquated limitations of the common law; but on the other hand they subjected them to new statutory penalties for "molestation" and "intimidation." The *Globe*, indeed, tried heroically but vainly to convince its readers that the Crown's case against the arrested printers was just as valid under the new law as it had been under the old common-law cases. The argument was by no means absurd; but, unfortunately for the *Globe*, a serious flaw appeared in it almost immediately. The prosecution of the printers was not continued and completed. In fact it was abruptly dropped. And thus the populace was confirmed in its original impression that the early triumph of the master printers was based merely on their unscrupulous use of an antiquated and half-forgotten law.

Sir John Macdonald stood forth as the friend and saviour of the working man. Without hesitation, and in his usual accomplished manner, he had confirmed and generalized James Beatty's stand; and thus the Liberal-Conservative party appeared suddenly as a new colonial embodiment of Disraeli's Tory Democracy. On June 19 John Hewitt, corresponding secretary of the Toronto Trades Assembly, wrote to Macdonald informing him that the Canadian unions would like the privilege of making a presentation to Lady Macdonald "as a slight token of our appreciation of your timely efforts in the interests of the operatives of this Dominion."¹⁰ On the night of July 11 a great crowd of working-class people assembled in the Toronto Music Hall. The jewelled gold casket was presented to Lady Macdonald by J. S. Williams, president both of the Toronto Trades Assembly and the Toronto Typographical Union; and Sir John, who spoke in reply on behalf of his wife, took advantage of the occasion to make a direct and forceful appeal to Canadian labour. He told them how glad he had been to prevent "the barbarous resurrection of a disgraceful

¹⁰Public Archives of Canada, Macdonald Papers, General Letters, 1872.

old law"; he invited their suggestions and advice in the further improvement of the Canadian labour statutes; and he ended by emphasizing, in his own characteristic facetious fashion, the association which had come into being between the working class and himself. "I ought to have a special interest in this subject," he told them, "because I am a workingman myself. I know that I work more than nine hours every day, and then I think I am a practical mechanic. If you look at the Confederation Act, in the framing of which I had some hand, you will admit that I am a pretty good joiner; and as for cabinet-making, I have had as much experience as Jacques & Hay themselves."¹¹

All this was highly satisfactory. Yet the labour laws were not the only, nor perhaps the most important, inducement in the new Conservative appeal to the industrial population of Canada. An even greater change in the fiscal policies of the party was actually impending. All that winter Macdonald had been deeply preoccupied with the party platform. The whole matter of policy had come up with the founding of the *Mail*; and Sir John had given the subject his unremitting attention. He had come back from his tour in the "West" (Western Ontario) with the firm conviction that tariff protection would be a popular policy to advocate. "It is really astonishing," he told George Stephen, the future president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, "the feeling that has grown up in the West in favour of the encouragement of home manufactures. I am sure to be able to make considerable capital out of this next summer."¹² Many of the party stalwarts were dubious, but Sir John was full of confidence. "The paper must go in for a National policy in Tariff matters," he told T. C. Patteson, the first editor of the *Mail*, "and while avoiding the word 'protection' must advocate a readjustment of the Tariff in such a manner as incidentally to aid our manufacturing and industrial interests."¹³ On July 13, at Hamilton, in the first great public meeting of the campaign, Macdonald and Hincks announced the new party platform of "incidental protection to home industry."¹⁴ The election of 1872—not that of 1878—was the first election in which the Conservatives went to the country on the basis of the National Policy.

In history, of course, the election of 1872 is famous for another

¹¹The *Toronto Mail*, July 12, 1872. Jacques and Hay were a large firm of furniture manufacturers in Toronto.

¹²Macdonald Papers, Letterbook 17, Macdonald to Stephen, Feb. 20, 1872.

¹³Macdonald Papers, Letterbook 17, Macdonald to Patteson, Feb. 24, 1872.

¹⁴The *Mail*, July 15, 1872.

and very different reason. It is famous—and indeed notorious—as the election which was disfigured by the Pacific Scandal. This was, in the end, its most obvious, its most glaring, distinction; but not, perhaps, its most important one. Until everything else was forgotten in the excitement aroused by L. S. Huntingdon's charges concerning the Conservative campaign funds, contemporaries saw a very different meaning in the political battle of 1872. For them it was the first election in which the industrial classes of Canada had been the chief centre of interest and the industrial future of the Dominion the main question at issue. In their eyes it had been made memorable by working-men candidates and great labour rallies; and it had been won by the party which most successfully united in its own favour the twin interests of labour and capital. The money contributions of the Canadian Pacific Railway may have helped to save Sir John Macdonald from defeat; but there were also other and more legitimate sources of strength at his disposal. He was supported by the growth of industry and the rise of the nine-hour movement, by the Toronto printers' strike, and the National Policy of protection.

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CANADIAN REFUGEE LANDS IN OHIO

IF one's knowledge of the history of the United States and Canada is limited to the information gained from some school textbooks it is easy to believe that all people residing on July 4, 1776, in the territory now known as the United States were fired with devotion to the revolutionary cause and that all those dwelling in the section now known as Canada were just as loyal to the Crown. But the notes and correspondence of commanders on both sides in the American Revolution reveal the presence of many residents in each section who were giving direct help and aid to the military forces of the other side. Each commander had a private fund, never publicly accounted for, which he used for the purpose of bribing or aiding friendly agents in enemy territory to secure military information for him.

On the occasion of raids or invasions into enemy territory, such as the expedition of Generals Montgomery and Arnold against Quebec in 1775, aid was given to the invading forces by local people which brought their sympathies into the open and made them so unpopular at home that they were forced to withdraw with the invaders or to make their escape soon afterward into more friendly surroundings. Many citizens of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia suffered persecution and confiscation of their property for their "services, aid and sympathy" to the revolutionists. Many of these fled into the State of New York and were given aid by the colonial government. The revolutionary government cared for them by providing them with subsistence rations for fifteen months, or, in the case of the sick and aged, for twenty-seven months.¹ Since the new government was poor in everything but land, it endeavoured to settle its obligations by giving land, of which it had plenty and which cost it nothing. Thus, from 1783 to 1798 promises and gestures were made, and from 1798 to 1834 lands were apportioned to all who had suffered, "in proportion to the degree of their respective services, sacrifices, and sufferings in consequence of their attachment to the cause of the United States."² In a resolution of April 23, 1783, the Continental Congress expressed a "lively sense of the services" of Brigadier General Moses Hazen, his "officers and other Canadian refugees for their virtuous sufferings in the cause of liberty."³ It

¹*Journals of the Continental Congress* (34 vols., 1904-37), IV, 660.

²*Laws of the United States*, I, 246.

³*Ibid.*, 577. See also p. 568.

promised to compensate them with land as soon as it could do so. On April 13, 1785, a promise was made to Jonathan Eddy and other refugees from Nova Scotia, and some land was granted in what is now northern Ohio. But the Congress soon discovered that the land was claimed by both the Indians and the colony of Connecticut. So the grant was invalid.

In 1787, however, the original colonies ceded to the United States government most of their claims to the land north and west of the Ohio River, the section known in American history as the Northwest Territory; and General Anthony Wayne's defeat of the Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in north-western Ohio in 1794 followed by the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 effectually quieted the claims of the Indians. Congress now had clear title to lands it could use to settle claims of the Canadian refugees. The State of New York had already offered to grant land along Lake Champlain to such claimants. Grants of 500 to 1,000 acres were made to many, and the United States government transported them to these lands and furnished them with rations for a year, or, in the case of the aged and infirm for twenty-seven months. Some idea of the extent of this grant can be formed from the fact that in 1787 one hundred and seventy rations were issued and in 1788 forty-five rations were issued for the aged.⁴ Under the terms of the New York Act of May 11, 1784, two hundred and five were entitled to land.

By an Act of April 7, 1798, Congress began in earnest the settlement of these refugee claims. The Secretary of War was directed to advertise in newspapers in Vermont, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Pennsylvania that all persons having just claims under the Act were to file their claims within two years. Only those were eligible who had been residents of one of the British North American provinces prior to July 4, 1776, and who had been forced to abandon their residences because they had given aid to the Thirteen Colonies during the Revolution; or those who had remained in the Thirteen Colonies while the war lasted for the purpose of giving aid to the revolutionary cause and had not returned to Canada prior to November 25, 1783.⁵

Two years later, May 8, 1800, the Secretary of War and the Secretary and the Comptroller of the Treasury reported that they had examined 73 claims; and recommended that 33,850 acres of land be granted to 49 individuals. In the cases of these 49 they

⁴*United States Statutes at Large*, I, 547.

⁵*Journals of the Continental Congress*, IV, 878.

had deducted any land already received from the State of New York; and twelve of the twenty-four claims rejected were considered to have been fully compensated by that state. The suggested donations ranged from 100 acres to 2,000 acres.⁶

Albert Gallatin, Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands of the House of Representatives, suggested that since the number of claims and the total of the grants were smaller than had been expected, and since these claimants had already waited twenty years, they might well increase the grants.⁷ By an Act passed February 18, 1801, a total of 43,040 acres was granted to these claimants in parcels varying from 160 acres to 2,240 acres.⁸

Later Samuel Rogers, whose claim had been postponed for lack of evidence, was granted 2,240 acres. Then, because it was evident that a number of deserving refugees had failed to present their claims within the required two-year period, the Act was revived in 1804 for another two-year period, and it was revived again in 1810. Under these Acts seventeen people were donated 12,720 acres of land in 1812. Altogether 67 claimants had received 58,080 acres.⁹ Then last of all in 1834, more than fifty years after the close of the Revolution, the Act was revived and 640 acres were granted to the heirs of Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Livingston.¹⁰

The land which these grantees were privileged to choose was located in central Ohio in certain fractional townships occupying a strip four and one-half miles wide extending forty-eight miles east from the Scioto River to the Muskingum River. The capital of Ohio, Columbus, lies partly in this tract.¹¹ This tract has been known in Ohio history as "The Refugee Tract," and the public roads bordering it on the north and south are still known as "The North Refugee Road" and "The South Refugee Road." The writer was born and raised less than a mile from the North Refugee Road and as a boy he was always puzzled by the name, for he had never seen anyone skulking along the road who looked like a refugee.

Altogether 103,527 acres were set aside for this purpose but only the 58,080 acres mentioned above were claimed and surveyed.

⁶*Public Lands*, I, 106-7.

⁷Payson Jackson Treat, *The National Land System, 1785-1820* (New York City, 1910), 289.

⁸United States Statutes at Large, II, 100.

⁹William E. Peters, *Ohio Lands and Their History* (ed. 3, Athens, Ohio, 1930), 215; Henry Howe, *Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio* (Centennial edition, published by the State of Ohio, 1900, now out of print), I, 131.

¹⁰Peters, *Ohio Lands and Their History*, 216.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 215.

The remainder reverted to the land office to be sold in the usual public sales.¹² Seven individuals or their heirs received 2,240 acres each; four received 1,280 acres; twenty-two received 960 acres; seventeen received 640 acres; sixteen received 320 acres; and one received 160 acres.¹³

The following received 2,240 acres each: John Allen; James Boyd's heirs; Prince Francis Cazeau; John Edgar; Seth Harding; Samuel Rogers; Martha Walker, widow of Thomas Walker.

The following received 1,280 acres each: Parker Clark; John Dodge's heirs; Jonathan Eddy; Colonel James Livingston.

The following received 960 acres each: Edward Antill's heirs; Elijah Ayer's heirs; Lieutenant-Colonel Bradford; Martin Brooks; Simon Chester's heirs; Lewis F. Delesdernier; Atwood Fales; Ebenezer Gardner; Edward Faulkner; Thomas Faulkner; David Gay; Charlotte Hazen, widow of Moses Hazen; William How; Joshua Lamb; John McGown; Noah Miller; Jonas C. Minot; Nathaniel Reynolds's heirs; Isaac Rutland's heirs; Chloe Shannon, wife of James Noble Shannon, and relict of Obadiah Ayer, deceased; Joshua Sprague; John Starr.

The following received 640 acres each: Joseph Bindon; Martha Bogart, relict of Abraham Bogart, and formerly relict of Daniel Tucker; James Crawford; Isaac Danks; John Fulton; John Halsted; John Vander Heyden; Joseph Levittre; John Livingston; John D. Mercier; Lieutenant William Maxwell; John Morrison; Seth Noble; James Price; Robert Sharp; Benjamin Thompson; Major B. Von Heer.

The following received 320 acres each: Elijah Ayer, Junior; Anthony Burk's heirs; Edward Chinn; Ambrose Cole; James Cole; Joseph Cone; David Dickey; Jeremiah Duggan's widow and heirs; Daniel Earl, Junior; David Jenks; Adam Johnson; John Paskell; Gilberts Seamans's heirs; James Sprague; John Taylor; John Torreyre.

One received 160 acres: Samuel Fales.

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¹²*Ibid.*, 216.

¹³*Ibid.*, 216 ff.

*The author of this article is indebted to Dr. William D. Overman, Akron, Ohio, who has read this manuscript, for the following suggestions: Extensive quotations from the statutes will be found in an article by E. L. Taylor, "Refugees to and from Canada and the Refugee Tract" (*Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, XII, 1903, 219-41). Also, authority for the sale of the residue of the Refugee Tract is to be found in *Laws of the United States*, VI, 133, passed at the request of the Ohio General Assembly, 14 *Ohio Laws*, 469.

SELKIRK'S VIEWS ON BRITISH POLICY TOWARD THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COLONIES, 1806

ONE of the most fascinating historical figures of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is that of Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk. Even among the spectacular ventures of that bold and innovating age his projects and achievements are worthy of study and remembrance. At a time when the majority of his outstanding contemporaries were largely engrossed in selfish striving, either manœuvring for official advancement, or conspiring to rob their fellow men, Selkirk was expending his time, energy, and fortune in seeking to spread British civilization and in labouring to alleviate the condition of the British poor. Among the activities into which the philanthropic earl was thus led by his dreams and his plans, were colonizing expeditions to Prince Edward Island, Upper Canada, and the valley of the Red River. In thus directing British immigration to territories already within the Empire Selkirk was establishing a good claim to be one of the first, if not the first, of that school of reformers in Britain which achieved its greatest influence in the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century, and whose members saw new purposes and prospects in an empire. He himself was a firm believer in a colonial empire and had no sympathy with those persons who "insinuated that the colonies are altogether of little use . . . ; that all the continental colonies . . . must inevitably fall, at no distant period of time . . ."¹ In his mind the value of oversea possessions was not primarily economic, but, rather, cultural and social. By means of systematic emigration from the British Isles he would at once relieve social and economic distress at home and bring to the open spaces of the Empire the amenities of the British way of life.

It was in the early nineties of the eighteenth century that Selkirk first became cognizant of such new advantages in oversea possessions; and from that time until his death in 1820 he engaged in many enterprises designed to expand and strengthen the Empire. In these varied activities he established a mass of contacts with North American settlement, diplomacy, and business: for instance, he was closely associated with the Scottish land speculation and colonization projects in western New York in the

¹The Earl of Selkirk, *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, With a View to the Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration* (London, 1805), 158-9.

years just before and after the close of the eighteenth century;² he worked out a plan to establish a British settlement in Louisiana and win that territory for England;³ he took an active part in the negotiation of the abortive treaty between Great Britain and the United States in the years 1806-7;⁴ he was one of the chief promoters of the scheme for an Indian reserve in the Northwest so strongly advocated by the British commissioners at Ghent, 1814-15 (in fact, his plan for the reserve was actually presented to the American delegates);⁵ and he established the first agricultural settlement in the prairie country of the Canadian West, a work of enormous difficulty, involving the acquisition of a considerable influence in the Hudson's Bay Company, and a decade of war—economic, military, and legal—with the powerful North West Company.⁶

On the whole, as a colonizer Selkirk was not successful; and as a promoter of colonial settlement he was worse than a financial failure. Unfortunately, therefore, his humanitarianism, though real, was largely ineffectual in his own time. This does not mean, however, that his life's work was useless. On the contrary, in things that mattered more than immediate and tangible results, Selkirk was remarkably successful. As a precursor and a leader of a school of reformers he played a role which easily dwarfs that of the mere promoter, and which laid a foundation for the work of men like Durham, Gibbon Wakefield, Charles Buller, and Wilmot Horton.

It was not alone, however, in projects and theories of colonial settlement that Selkirk displayed his patriotic imperialism and his prophetic originality. He was well aware, at a time when British expansionists were still thinking largely in terms of political sovereignty,⁷ that his country's essential strength lay in trade, and that desirable markets were just as important as thriving colonies.

²Helen I. Cowan, "Selkirk's Work in Canada: An Early Chapter" (*Canadian Historical Review*, IX, Dec., 1928), 299 ff.

³John Perry Pritchett, *The Red River Valley, 1811-1849: A Regional Study* (New Haven, 1942), 23 ff.

⁴James Monroe and William Pinkney, August 15 to October 10, 1807, Great Britain, Department of State, Washington: see particularly letters Monroe and Pinkney to Madison, April 25, 1807, and Selkirk to Lord Holland, March 13, 1807.

⁵Selkirk Papers, St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, Scotland, Selkirk memorandum, 1814.

⁶See especially: Chester Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada* (Oxford, 1916); Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (Toronto, n.d.); Pritchett, *The Red River Valley*.

⁷Whatever encouragement British officials may hitherto have offered Spanish American revolutionaries who sought the independence of Spain's colonies in the New World, it is probable that their ambitions in respect to South America were still terri-

This is strikingly brought out in a long letter which he wrote to William Grenville in October, 1806, and which is here published for the first time.⁸ Early in the year Selkirk had been nominated to succeed, as minister to the United States, Anthony Merry, who had long been in a state of ill health.⁹ The Prime Minister was William Wyndham, Lord Grenville. For some reason Selkirk did not go to Washington as minister, but his relations with Grenville in the year of the nomination were such as to make suggestions to the British government on matters of American policy quite in order. Selkirk saw, or thought he saw, in the existing situation in Spanish America, a favourable opportunity for Britain to assist the Spanish colonies to obtain their independence.¹⁰ He was at pains to show, however, that permanent control of Spanish America by Britain was not feasible or desirable—that the true value of a liberated Spanish Empire would be its trade, which, as things then stood, would inevitably fall for the most part into British hands. This was not the first time that such an idea had found expression in British government circles;¹¹ but coming as it did, at this time, from a man who had recently been nominated as minister to the United States, and being put into the hands, not only of Grenville, but of Canning, who was to play such a prominent role in the practical fulfilment of the idea a few years later,

torial rather than merely commercial. See below fn. 11, and, also, William Spence Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America" (in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1907*, I, 189-539), 286-7.

⁸A copy of the letter was sent to George Canning. At that time Grenville was at the head of his "Ministry of All the Talents," and Canning was out of office. The latter, however, was soon to become Foreign Secretary in the Portland Ministry, and enjoyed considerable influence. The replies of Canning and Grenville to Selkirk's letter are printed below. The originals of all three letters are among the Selkirk Papers at St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, Scotland. A copy of a portion of Selkirk's letter (all but the last four paragraphs) may be found in the Public Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

⁹Public Record Office, London, England, Foreign Office, XLVIII, 1-2, Letter from Downing Street to Anthony Merry, March 7, 1806.

¹⁰Britain and Spain had been at war since November, 1804.

¹¹As early as 1741, after the unsuccessful British attack on Carthagena, one Stephen De Vere (or Devereux) memorialized the British government on the desirability of Britain helping the Spanish-American dominions to throw off the yoke of Spain, not with a view to securing them as colonies, but in order to acquire most of their trade. The original De Vere document is No. 19, vol. VI, of the "Vernon-Wager Navy Papers" in the Library of Congress, Washington, and has been printed in full in the *American Historical Review*, IV, Jan., 1899, 325-8, under the title, "Some Thoughts Relating to Our Conquests in America, June 6, 1741." During the succeeding three-quarters of a century similar ideas were put forward by a succession of revolutionary agitators. outstanding among whom, at the time with which we are concerned, was the South American adventurer, Miranda, who had "entered into definite relations with the English Government in 1790" on the subject of Spanish-American revolt (Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda" 227).

it attains a significance much greater than any value it might derive from mere originality.

More important, however, at least from an American and a political point of view, are certain statements in the letter about the part that the United States might be expected to play in the Spanish-American drama. Selkirk was apparently well aware of the schemes, and rumours of schemes, of such Americans as Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Aaron Burr, and of the general disposition of the United States government, in respect to the future of Spain's American possessions; and he took it for granted that in any action taken by Britain to free those possessions, it would be desirable to have the co-operation of the United States. What is startling in his suggestions is the fact that he almost, if not quite, anticipated both the future declarations of, and the line of action afterwards taken by, Canning, when Spanish America had been liberated, and the question of preventing its re-conquest by Spain and France had become a pressing one.¹² The question might then be asked, Did Lord Selkirk contribute to the Monroe Doctrine? It would be difficult to *prove* that Selkirk's letter had any influence on Canning's later conduct; and it would probably be still more difficult to prove that Canning in any way originated the Monroe Doctrine.¹³ That political formula could be credited to the logic of history as reasonably as to any single individual. Had Monroe and Canning never lived there would doubtless have been something closely approximating the Monroe Doctrine. What stands out, however, is the fact that several years before the Monroe Doctrine and its corollary, the "no-transfer" principle, had become even a plainly expressed theory in the United States, Selkirk had clearly enunciated essentially the same ideas to Canning, the man who was later to be so influential in making the Monroe Doctrine a part of international policy and law. In the light of these conclusions the Selkirk letter here published takes on an unusually striking significance.

Aside, however, from such major considerations as the possible influence Selkirk's suggestion may have had upon Canning, the

¹²See below, fn. 27 and fn. 34.

¹³"The question to what extent Canning was responsible for the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine is one that has exercised the minds of successive generations, and it is difficult even now to give a definite answer, but the line that he adopted towards France and the Holy Alliance in the early autumn of 1823 undoubtedly encouraged Monroe and Adams to make a stand which would not have been possible without the certainty of British support, given the weakness of the United States at the time" (Sir Charles Petrie, *George Canning*, London, 1930, 194).

document contains a number of passages likely to interest the student of American history. In these we learn that Selkirk was fairly well informed of the current desires of American politicians in respect of Spanish America; that he argued that small and republican states would be easier for Britain to control indirectly than would large, monarchical units; that he suggested that a place might be found among the ruins of Spain's empire in America to console the Bourbons for the failure of their fortunes in Europe. Such more or less accurate predictions or adumbrations of coming events, added to those already mentioned, emphasize the fact that their author was no ordinary observer or calculator, but a man of wide interests, accurate observation, and profound historical intuition. Selkirk could foresee, as could few of the best-informed and most gifted men of his time, the "shape of things to come" in America; and his suggestions, expressed in this letter to Grenville and Canning, as to the wisest course for Britain to pursue, in view of what was impending, deserve far more attention than has been given by historians to many an utterance of his lesser contemporaries.

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[*Selkirk's Letter to Grenville and Canning*¹⁴]

William Wyndam Grenville,

My Lord,

The information that may be collected as to the internal state of the Spanish colonies in South America is sufficient to establish as an undoubted fact that the authority of Spain in these provinces is in a most tottering state.¹⁵ The spirit of discontent among the colonists appears to be universal, and may be traced to causes which do not appear likely to be soon removed. The system of the Spanish Govt. in administration of the Provinces is radically vicious, & full of the most glaring restraints, the total exclusion of the natives of the Colonies from all offices

¹⁴The words, "Copy to George Canning" are written in pencil in the margin of the first page of the original letter.

¹⁵The fact that the subject of the condition of the Spanish colonies is brought up by Selkirk at the very beginning of the letter, abruptly and without introductory remarks, indicates the probability of previous communications on the same subject. This probability is strengthened almost into a certainty by two entries in Selkirk's diary. These are undated, but they occur in the volume for 1806-7, and for dates previous to December 21, 1806. They read as follows: "This day I talked with Lord Grenville about the Spanish colonies in America. He seemed interested in my views"; and, four entries below, "After a conversation yesterday with Canning—about Miranda and British interests in the Spanish colonies—I am wondering if he will use his influence to better British interests overseas. He is a wily fellow" (Selkirk Papers, Selkirk Diary, IV, 1806-7).

of considerable trust & emoluments, tends to perpetuate the spirit of discontent, & to combine against the mother country those whose attachment is most necessary for the security of Government. This spirit of disaffection is repressed by a very inadequate military force—the establishment if complete would be insufficient for the defense of such extensive possessions either against the invasion of any inter-prizing enemy or against a vigorous & ably concerted insurrection.

It appears from credible information that there is no one point of the Span: Cols. where on the appearance of an enemy the Govt. could collect a force of [more than] about 8 or 10,000 men & even of that number the greater part *Malitia* [sic]. This calculation too proceeds on the supposition of all the corps being complete which appears to be far from the case. It is also notorious that even the regulars are in a very low state of dicipline [sic] & the *Militia* scarcely armed & totally impractised in military exercises. No very powerful force therefore can be requisite for making an impression on any point that is selected as the object of attack.

It is probable that notwithstanding the disaffection of the country the whole of the force actually organized could be brought out on the first appearance of invasion; & the invading army can not expect any success unless they are sufficiently powerful to crush the first force that is brought against them. But if in the first instance they can assume a decided superiority there is no probility [sic] of a long or obstinate resistance. Upon this first defeat the *Malitia* will be inclined to disperse to their homes, & as soon as the invading army has engaged in a successful action or has gained such a superiority as to shew the country people that they may safely declare their sentiments, a judicious commander might certainly obtain from them a great deal of active coöperation.

The line of conduct most likely to insure success would appear to be that as the army advances into the country the commander should at every place of which he gains possession take all authority out of the hands of those who are actually in command and treat them as prisoners of war, selecting a new magistracy from among the most considerable of the natives of the country who under the actual regulations of the Spanish Govt. are excluded from public offices. The persons thus intrusted with authority will naturally be disposed to give a zealous support to the power by which they are patronized, & to exert themselves for the permanent establishment of a Government; from which they have to expect personal consequence & aggrandizement. If the new magistrates are well selected, they may induce many of their neighbors to form themselves into corps of volunteers to co-operate with the British army. To encourage this spirit the liberation of the colonists must be proclaimed as the determined purpose of the British Govt. & the most ample assurances given to the inhab[it]ants of protection to their persons & property. Their religion must be treated with the utmost respect, & to promote this object it would be very desirable that a great proportion of the soldiers employed in the expedition were Roman Catholics a circumstance which would obviate the prejud[ic]e[s] of the Col[on]ists agt [against] the English which may otherwise form the most import[an]t obstacle to the success of the undertaking. In addition to these conciliatory measures, the most unpopular regulations of the old government ought to be immediately remedied, the most odious of the taxes & the oppressive fiscal monopolies abolished, substituting a more equitable system of financial contributions.

These principles of conciliation combined with a strict abstinence [sic] from predatory irregularities, & with a vigorous activity in the military operations would render the acquisition of a whole province the easy & inevitable consequence of one

victory. In proportion as the army advances into the country they would at every step collect additional force. Every place they passed they would leave so organized as to insure its attachment & fidelity; every place would contribute its quota to a provincial force to coöperate with their deliverers. Advancing thus to the acquisition of an entire province, the same principles would dictate the formation of a provincial administration under the patronage of the British Government, & composed of such natives of the country as will feel their own interests most strongly linked with the authority of Br[itai]n under such an administration the provincial revenues might be so regulated as to obviate every well grounded cause of complaint, & applied to the support of an adequate military force for the defense of the province. By a judicious application of its internal resources the colony might thus be placed beyond the reach of attack from any other foreign power, & all probability of its returning under the dominion of the old masters might be effectually obviated at the same time. The provincial Govt. being vested in persons who derive their authority from the patronage of ye Br[iti]sh Crown will be under the influence of Br[itai]n & may be kept under control, at least for such a time, as may be necessary for determining on some arrangement for the permanent Govt. of the Prov[in]ce.

If these principles of conduct are steadily adhered to in one Province they open the door for the extension of the same plan to another & another. Each Province will furnish the means for the reduction of the next, & if the principles of conciliation that are recommended be inviolably maintained, the reputation of the justice & beneficence of the Br: Govt. will be everywhere the precursor of the Br arms, and prepare their success.

Considering Carthagena as the fittest object for the first attack, there seems no doubt that a British force of 10,000 men would be sufficient to reduce that place & secure the whole of the adjacent province of New Granada, containing about a million of people. If the expedition were so managed as to arrive on the coast at the beginning of the healthy season, the troops could before the rains set in, arrive at Santa Fé de Bogota among the mountains, where in a temperate climate & fertile district, they could procure every requisite supply. The revenues of this Province would be sufficient to carry forward the enterprize, with little or no farther demands on the Treasury of Great Br[itai]n and the army recruited in this populous district might on the return of the proper seasons for military operations, proceed to the Southward. From Santa Fé there is a constant communication with Quinto which is a dependence of the same Viceroyalty, & from Quinto to Lima it appears that the Settlements extend with scarcely any interruption along the Andes & the country between these mountains & the South Sea. In the whole distance there is no place where the Spanish Govt. have any considerable organized force. The mountains & other material impediments do not appear so formidable as to be any important obstacle when they are not supported by the resistance of the inhabitants. And with the dispositions of the people of these provinces there is every probability that in all this tract the operations of the army will be a mere march. In the neighbourhood of Lima the Spanish Govt. may be expected to concentrate their forces but the troops they have the means of collecting will be utterly unable to resist the British army aided by the auxiliaries they may bring along with them from the Provinces first acquired. These movements by land may be supported by a descent from the Sea. The Isthmus of Darien will follow the fate of Carthagena, & by embarking an adequate force at Panama to land near Lima the operations of the army advancing from Q[u]jinto will be left free of any

shadow of obstruction. The conquest of Lima may therefore be reckoned upon as an easy achievement for the second campaign, & that accomplished no other province of South America will venture to oppose any further resistance.

It appears then that by the employment of a very moderate military force, & with less expence than we have often incurred for the acquisition of a small West India Island, the whole of this magnificent territory could be brought under the authority of the Crown of Great Britain. The immense field of commercial enterprise which would thus be opened to Britain needs no illustration.¹⁶ It remains to be considered how far the obvious advantages of such an acquisition are balanced by any opposite considerations, & what line of conduct appears on the whole to be best calculated for promoting the permanent interests of the nation. An enterprise of such evident facility could scarcely fail to have occurred on former occasions, & that it has not been sooner undertaken is rather perhaps to be ascribed to the pressure of other objects nearer home, than to any decisive argument against its practicability or propriety. There are however some arguments which may be plausibly advanced against it & which deserve consideration.

Our present extensive colonial possessions, however beneficial in a commercial view, are certainly a burden on our finances & on our military resources. If such a vast territory as South America were to be retained as a part of the British dominions it would require an immense force to garrison it; & it may be fairly doubted whether the revenue that would arise from these provinces would be a sufficient indemnification for the burdens which the possession would involve. There is also every reason to think that by retaining these dominions we should not only excite excessive jealousy in other European powers and in the United States but involve ourselves in ruinous contests for the future preservation of these territories. We could not expect long to retain the attachment of the inhabitants. Notwithstanding the moderation of the British Government they have seldom succeeded in preserving long the attachment of foreign countries subjected to their empire. To effect this requires an attentive study of the dispositions & prejudices of the subject people which few of our foreign Governors have ever taken the pains to understand. During the first moments after the Spanish Colonists are delivered from the vexations of their old Govt. the contrast of their former situation & the evident benefits of the change may probably incline them for a time to submit with docility to the authority of their new masters. But the remembrance of these benefits must be gradually effaced; & where the people have not the tie of a common origin & language, where their religion & their laws are so different, as those of these colonists are from ours, it is almost unavoidable that in time jealousies must arise, that the affections of the people will be alienated, that they will feel the control of a distant foreign country to be irksome, and that sooner or later we must resolve to abandon the dominion, or to maintain it by a severe & ruinous struggle. These reasons seem to be decisive against any plan for retaining the permanent possession of Spanish America; but without involving ourselves in the charge of their government we might derive the full benefit of the trade of these provinces & this is the most material advantage that could be derived from the possession. Without any monopoly our merchants & manufacturers will secure an ample share of the markets of South America. All they require is a free access on terms of equal competition

¹⁶Selkirk here anticipates a great movement of trade whose beginnings could at that time scarcely if at all be discerned. "From the very beginnings of the revolutionary movement in South America [1805-1806] British commerce . . . flowed into the new states, and created an interest of vital importance which the government could hardly ignore" (Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826*, Cambridge, 1927, 56).

and opportunity of exerting their superior skill, enterprize, & capital. This advantage they must have if South America become independant of Spain, whatever government may be established there.¹⁷

Upon the plan however that has been sketched it will rest with the British cabinet to determine what the future political state of that vast continent should be. Without pretending to retain permanent authority over them provisional administrations will be established in the different provinces into which the British army penetrates, & these may be so constituted as to be sufficiently under control for the short period that may elapse till permanent arrangements are determined on; & till it is fully considered what government ought to be established among them.

Looking merely to the advantage of these provinces themselves the simplest mode & perhaps the most adapted to their present state of advancement would be to establish among them one or perhaps two great monarchies. Considering however the probable increase of population when these vast countries are under a good government it would perhaps be more adviseable to divide them into states of more moderate extent, & certainly in that great continent there would be room for several kingdoms of a very respectable scale; & among these an opportunity might be found of providing in an honorable & advantageous manner for some branches of the unfortunate family of B[o]rbon.

By this line of conduct the whole weight which the internal resources of South America can afford, to affect the great balance of power in the civilized world, may certainly be depended upon as thrown into the scale of Britain in the present arduous contest. If however it is thought an object to preserve a more permanent influence for the British Government in this quarter of the world it may appear more conducive to this end to divide these colonies into a still greater number of states of less extent & to establish in them governments more inclined to the republican in form, in which permanent influences may more easily be kept up.¹⁸ Perhaps there may be different parts of the continent to which these several views may be separately applicable. But upon these questions it is unnecessary to form an immediate determination. The information that must naturally be collected in the course of the business, may possibly occasion modifications on any plan that government may adopt: & the provisional administration, that is proposed to be established, in the first instance under the patronage of the British Government, may be kept up for such a length of time as to give full opportunity of due deliberation on these important questions.

It is perhaps the less necessary to enlarge upon this branch of the subject at present because this is a secondary consideration & any determination that can possibly be taken upon it, would be better for the interests of the nation than that the undertaking should be entirely neglected. It is no longer in our power to allow things to go on as they have hitherto been, & if we should flatter ourselves that they may be trusted to chance, we should expose ourselves to imminent danger.

¹⁷When, almost twenty years later, Britain finally recognized the independence of the Spanish-American republics, Canning, now Foreign Secretary, who had for some time been urging the move, wrote to Lord Grenville as follows: "The deed is done, the nail is driven. Spanish America is free; and if we do not mismanage our affairs sadly, she is English" (Petrie, *George Canning*, 191).

¹⁸Perhaps there can be no connection between Selkirk's observation here on the type of government in Spanish America that would suit British interests best, and the fact that such a type, and the "permanent influences" here suggested, came ultimately to prevail.

The probable or almost certain consequence of our remaining in a state of inaction, would be that these vast territories would fall into the hands of France & that all their resources would be applied by our indefatigable & irreconcilable enemy to promote our destruction.¹⁹ The question must now be considered in a very different light from what it could at any former time, when it may have been under discussion. The recent changes on the continent of Europe beare most essentially on this question. During the former War, Spain was but a subsidiary enemy, & to weaken her was only a secondary object: there was always a prospect of our recovering her friendship and her coöperation against our main enemy. An attack upon the colonies of Spain might under these circumstances be considered as a diversion of our force from its primary & essential object. Now however every idea of detaching Spain from the influence of France must be abandoned as utterly chimerical.

The military force of Spain is absolutely incapable of any competition, & the attempt to put it on a more respectable footing would be deemed an act of treason against the Emperor of the great Nation, nor is it probable that any idea of the kind would be entertained while the government of that kingdom is in the hands that now wield it, while a minister—the mere tool of Bonaparte—governs the kingdom with the authority of a *Maire du Palais*. Under these circumstances it is in vain to consider what is the interest or the inclination of the country. The king of Spain must submit to every dictate of Bonaparte exactly like the King of Etruria or the King of Batavia.

Of the views of the French upon Spanish America, there is scarcely a doubt. At a period when their influence was far less than it now must be, it was sufficient to extort the cession of Louisiana. How this possession would have led to further acquisitions was well demonstrated in the Parliamentary discussions on the Treaty of Amiens. If a peace should now take place, on any terms that can rationally be expected, can we doubt that Bonaparte would soon find a pretext for obtaining some other province which like Louisiana,²⁰ might serve as a stepping stone to Mexico & Peru. If France were in possession of any one considerable province in South America we must be blind to all her other policy to doubt that this province would soon be put into a formidable state of preparation & force & that whenever the opportunity should be deemed convenient, the feeble & inert government of the adjoining Spanish Provinces would be overwhelmed & replaced by the more energetic agents of Bonaparte. That immense continent would then appear in its true colours, & its importance would be seen when too late. Our enemies are too politic to leave the country in its present state: in their vigorous hands it would soon be put in a state of defence, which we might in vain attempt to molest. Its vast resources would be put into activity, its revenues might be increased in an enormous proportion, & its trade would contribute in a most formidable manner to the creation of that Naval power which appears to be the object of the most earnest & anxious wishes of Bonaparte.

¹⁹Here Selkirk accurately predicts the crisis of 1823, when the imminent danger of French intervention in Spanish America led to Canning's overtures to the United States, and to the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine.

²⁰Selkirk had felt a lively interest in the fate of Louisiana a few years earlier when Spain was handing the country back to France, and before Jefferson acquired it for the United States. The Earl's interests in the territory were political as well as social and economic. He would have had Britain secure it not only as a field for settlement of Britain's indigent population, but also as a valuable dependency of an enlightened Empire. See below fn. 26; see also, Pritchett, *The Red River Valley*, 22-6.

Nothing in fact but the superiority of the British Navy & the subsisting hostilities prevents this revolution from being effected. Should we be weak enough to make peace, without having previously secured the Spanish colonies in our own interest we may look to the moral certainty of Bonaparte soon achieving this change & we should again be reduced to the alternative of recommencing hostilities to prevent the accomplishment of his object, or of sitting down & acquiescing in his becoming the master of the ocean as well as the continent.

Unless therefore we wish to make a peace as hollow as that of Amiens & still more dangerous, the conquest or liberation of South America is stated to have been suggested by the lamented Abercromby,²¹ nearly on the same principles that have been above laid down: but was objected to on the ground of its giving too much countenance to those Jacobin principles, which then endangered the safety of every regular government in Europe. This objection is perhaps met by a variation on his plan, in the proposal to organize the new administration of the conquered provinces under the direction & patronage of the British Commanders, instead of leaving the people of the colonies to their own misguided exertions. With this modification the danger of anarchy would not be incurred, nor would the example lead to bad consequences. It would in fact be nothing more than has been done in a hundred instances, long before the name of Jacobin was ever heard of, when one power has taken advantage of errors in the administration of an enemy, & of the consequent discontents of his subjects, to facilitate some plan of conquest. But the danger from the prevalence of Jacobinism is now so much at an end that this objection cannot now have the same force it once had, & cannot be put in competition with the enormous danger we incur by leaving the Spanish Colonies exposed to the grasp of France.

If the objection were of real validity, it is now the less applicable, from the circumstances that have recently occurred in the expedition of Miranda.²² There is no small probability that this commander may succeed to a great extent in his revolutionary plans; & it cannot be denied that the danger of encouraging Jacobinism will be much greater from his success than it can be from any change operated under the protection of the British arms.

It may perhaps be thought that this expedition will entirely supersede the utility of any interference on the part of Britain for liberating South America. If indeed our Government persists in shutting their eyes on the importance of this great continent, it is perhaps fortunate for this country & for Europe, that a man should have arisen of sufficient genius to repair their error & by his own efforts to put a decisive bar to the schemes of France in this quarter. No one will doubt that it is better for us that South America should be under the government of Miranda than of Bonaparte. But it is equally certain that by the interference of Britain on liberal principles of conciliation, the same object would be obtained with much more certainty & a far more satisfactory manner. There are many difficulties

²¹General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, one of the most brilliant officers in the history of the British Army, was killed in Egypt in 1801. Previously he had served in the West Indies, where he had displayed a remarkable capacity for intelligent innovation (*Dictionary of National Biography*), I, 43-6.

²²On February 2, 1806, the Venezuelan adventurer and revolutionary, Francisco de Miranda, having fitted out the ship *Leander* with provisions and arms, sailed from New York on an expedition designed to stir up rebellion, and destroy Spanish control, in his native land. Throughout the summer and fall of 1806 reports of Miranda's successes kept coming back, but the expedition ended in failure. For a detailed account of Miranda's career see Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda."

which may be fatal to the ultimate success of Miranda. The revolutionary fervor which he must excite among his adherents may be fatal to his own authority: he may be unable to repress the dissensions among the different classes & orders of the colonists—to reconcile the contending factions of the Whites, the Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes & from either of these causes or from both combined, the horrors of St. Domingo may be acted over again in the Coraccas [Caracas]; & nothing can be relied on for preventing this catastrophe but the ability of one man—the safety of one life! These however are dangers which would apply in a very inferior degree to our undertaking backed by an adequate regular force. On the other hand if Miranda should be successful we cannot expect from him the same advantages, and the same defence for the interests of Britain, as from Governments that should owe their existence to the exertions of this country.

Whatever be the success of Miranda, it cannot supersede our exertions, it cannot yet be too late to interfere. It must be a considerable time before Miranda with all his ability can extend the effect of his schemes to the whole continent. We may therefore have to leave certain provinces to him, but there will still be ample opportunity of establishing our influence over a very great and important territory.

Among the recommendations of this plan it is not perhaps the least that by a moderate exertion, we may accomplish an object of such splendour and renown, as would have a great effect in raising the reputation both of the Nation and of its present administration. The very name of such an achievement might be most essentially conducive to the success of our endeavours for procuring a permanent and honorable peace.

In the working out of any plan for a permanent British influence in the Spanish American territories (South America) it might be well for Britain to associate herself with the United States. This probably would not likely be a difficult thing to achieve.²³ Some Americans a few years ago planned an Anglo-American partition of the Spanish American Colonies in the western hemisphere. (I believe that Mr. Alexander Hamilton was the originator of the scheme.) According to his plan the United States, Great Britain and the Miranda insurgents were to join forces against France and Spain. In the division of territories which was to result England was to get Santo Domingo and other French islands in the Caribbean and the United States was to receive Louisiana and the Floridas.²⁴ Unfortunately and

²³Strained relations had developed between Britain and the United States in the years 1805-6 over questions that may be grouped under the heading, "Freedom of the Seas." "In April, 1806, Congress passed a Non-Importation Act, prohibiting the import of many British products. It came into force on November 15th, but, owing to the clamour against it, was soon withdrawn. Negotiations were then on foot between Washington and London, and, in December, Jefferson announced that they were 'proceeding in a spirit of friendship and accommodation which promises a mutual advantage.' The blighting of these hopes resulted from the Berlin Decree and the retaliation to which the British Government resorted." (*Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, I, 357-8).

²⁴In 1798 relations between the United States and France became so strained that war seemed probable. At this time Spain was in alliance with France. "A group of Americans whose guiding spirit was Alexander Hamilton welcomed the call to arms. War with France would in all probability mean war with Spain too, and that was what made the prospect of fighting so attractive. As the war aims of the Hamiltonian clique developed, it appeared that Louisiana and Florida were to be invaded and that with the aid of the British Navy and a band of Spanish colonists represented by Francisco de Miranda, the field of operations would be extended to Mexico and South America" (Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803*, New York, 1934, 116).

largely due to politics and the exigencies of situations then pending the scheme was not consummated. (I am told that Mr. John Adams, who was the President of the United States at the time, opposed Mr. Hamilton.)

Today the United States fears French imperialism in the Americas. Mr. Jefferson very definitely opposed Napoleon's acquisition of Louisiana and his schemes for the building up of a colonial Empire in the Caribbean and interior of North America.²⁵ This opposition led directly to the United States purchase of Louisiana in 1803. (Back in the winter of 1801-02 I urged the Government to secure Louisiana but all to no avail.)²⁶ The United States does not seem to fear Spain as a power in the western world, but it does oppose the transfer of the Spanish dominions to France or other European countries.²⁷ The United States might object to any plan on the part of Britain for the liberation of South America, especially if a force of arms were resorted to unless it could be induced to join in the liberation and protection of the freed territories. Although America has been against Britain on many occasions and although there is a party (or faction) in that country bitterly opposed to our country there is a party which is not unfriendly. Unfortunately Hamilton is dead. However Aaron Burr, who was until recently Vice-President of the United States, has some plans that might be adapted to our purposes. From a dossier of documents which have of late been put at my disposal by Mr. Merry²⁸ it would appear that Mr. Burr and General

²⁵When Jefferson discovered, early in 1802, that France had secured Louisiana from Spain, he sent an unofficial communication to Bonaparte, to be delivered by a French gentleman, Dupont de Nemours. To the latter he wrote: "I wish you to be possessed of the subject, because you may be able to impress on the Government of France the inevitable consequences of their taking possession of Louisiana; and though, as I hear mention, the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to us would be a palliation, yet I believe it would be no more, and that this measure will cost France, and perhaps not very long hence, a war which will annihilate her on the ocean, and place that element under the despotism of two nations—which I am not reconciled to the more because my own would be one of them." With this letter he enclosed the note to Livingstone, American Minister to France, which contains the oft-quoted "marriage" threat: "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations, who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation..." (Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America During the First Administration of Thomas Jefferson*, New York, 1889, I, 410, 411).

²⁶Selkirk had submitted to the Addington Government "A Proposal tending to the Permanent Security of Ireland," in which he urged that in the peace negotiations then being carried on with France Britain might secure for colonizing purposes the country of Louisiana, "a situation in which every advantage would be united; in which there would be the fairest prospects both of the internal Prosperity of the Colony, & of its becoming a valuable acquisition to the Commerce of Britain" (Pritchett, *The Red River Valley*, 23).

²⁷Selkirk here anticipates the famous "no-transfer" principle which has come to be popularly associated or identified with the Monroe Doctrine.

²⁸Anthony Merry, whom Selkirk early in 1806 had been nominated to succeed as British Minister to the United States, had, while in Washington, received some confidential and undoubtedly treasonable suggestions from Aaron Burr as to the latter's intentions in planning to invade Mexico. Suggestions of a similar character had likewise been made by Burr to Yrujo, the Spanish Minister. "Burr's character was apparently never more seriously involved... than in the correspondence of Merry and Yrujo... to whom he ostensibly disclosed his design. If the revelations of the Ministers could be accepted at their face value, treason was in Burr's mind, and the separation of the West from the Union was his plot, open and avowed. However, viewing the correspondence as a whole, in conjunction with other facts... it appears certain that Burr's intrigue with Merry and Yrujo was but a consummate piece of imposture. In order to secure

James Wilkinson (Governor of Louisiana) might be persuaded without much difficulty to accede to my scheme.²⁹ It seems that Mr. Burr is planning to march against Spain in Mexico. It is his intention if successful to attach the Spanish dominions of Mexico, Texas and California to the United States with himself as Governor over these vast territories.³⁰ Even Mr. Jefferson might be won over without too much effort.³¹ Twice in the last three years he has spoken of an alliance with England.³² It is not inconceivable for all the factions in America to be united in support of the object if they can be persuaded that by so doing they would be furthering the interests and advantages of their country.³³ America stands to gain valuable political advantages and trade concessions in South America and the other Spanish dominions if she should become an ally of Britain for the future protection of these territories. The United States might be induced to send armies against the Floridas and Mexico at the same time that Britain sends troops into South America.

It would be well for Government to approach the United States in respect to the plan and come to an understanding. If that country should accede to the plan or similar plans such would have a great political effect on the world. Such an alliance could and probably would close the Americas (all except Russia in Alaska) effectually to continental Europe. This would have far-reaching political and economic consequences. It would help to weaken and eventually bring about the downfall of Napoleon. With the defeat of France, England and the United States together with the liberated Spanish American states would be a redoubtable combination.³⁴

funds for the carrying out of his expedition against Mexico, Burr resorted to the expedient of playing on the hatred of the European powers for the American Republic. Could they be brought to contribute moneys to aid in the sundering of the States? Burr thought so, and to secure the sum he conceived to be necessary for his purpose he never scrupled at discoursing of treasons, although at the moment every step he was taking looked toward an invasion of the Spanish territories" (Walter Flavins McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, New York, 1903, viii).

²⁹General Wilkinson was one of the chief instruments on whom Hamilton counted in his plan to attack Spanish America. "On February 12, 1799, Hamilton who had been appointed ranking major-general and inspector-general, summoned General Wilkinson from his post near Natchez to headquarters in the East Arrived at New York, Wilkinson lost no time in conferring with his superior Hamilton drew up several 'heads for conversations' 'The disposition of the Spaniards in our vicinity—their strength in number and fortification' 'The best mode (in the event of a rupture with Spain) of attacking the two Floridas: Troops, artillery, etc. requisite.' After considerable discussion, Wilkinson submitted a written report on the affairs of the Western department on September 4, 1799. Three days later Hamilton made him the bearer of a letter to President Adams strongly recommending him for promotion to the rank of major-general" (Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question*, 124-5).

³⁰Apparently the "dosier of documents" Selkirk had received from Merry contained no reference to Burr's expression of treasonable intentions.

³¹"Jefferson was determined [1803-4] to have West Florida immediately, East Florida eventually, and in due time even more of Spain's uncontested possessions" (Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, New York, 1936, 183).

³²Jefferson's references in April, 1802, to an alliance with England are quoted above, fn. 24. The second occasion arose in 1804, when there seemed to be grave danger of war with Spain. "Jefferson and his Cabinet hesitated. They were unprepared for war. He thought again (as he had in the Louisiana affair of an alliance with England to help the United States against Spain and France" (*ibid.*, p. 184).

³³Selkirk was overly optimistic: "just at this time [the time of Jefferson's second reference to an alliance with England] came news of the Essex decision and the beginning of the long and bitter controversy over neutral rights. Any British alliance was henceforth impossible" (*ibid.*, 184-5).

³⁴The course here outlined by Selkirk for Britain to pursue in respect to the United

There are high officials and group interests (powerful merchants) in this country who would likely contest allying ourselves with the United States, and would want us to pursue the plan independently. These however should be made to see the risks involved in such a course. It should be emphatically pointed out to them that the United States is not only strategically located on the North American continent, but that it is an ambitious young nation with great potentialities; and that three years ago it acquired Louisiana west of the Mississippi River, and that Mr. Jefferson's Government is of the opinion that by that acquisition the United States got West Florida, the Spanish territory of Texas and territory even to Pacific Ocean.⁴⁵ (The Pacific claims conflict with those of Britain and Spain.) It is not inconceivable that these contentions may be realized in the near future unless we act at once. Mr. Jefferson has only recently let it be known to his Majesty's Government that the United States wants Cuba and would even go to war with Spain to get it.⁴⁶ Spain is too weak and inconsequential to prevent such American aggression. And after the defeat of France, Britain may be too exhausted to prevent such. Thus it would be to the distinct advantage of Britain to ally itself with the United States at the earliest possible moment for the liberation of the Spanish American colonies.

I am Sir your very obedt. St.

SELKIRK

St. Mary's Isle,
October 15, 1806.

[Canning's Reply to Selkirk]

Thomas Douglas,
Fifth Earl of Selkirk,
St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright.

Sir,

Your memorandum and observations on the Americas was received on November 1st. I have given it close study and find it replete with fruitful suggestions. I assure you I am particularly interested in your observations on the state of the Spanish colonies and the suggestions that Britain seek an alliance with the United States of America. This does not however seem to be the time for a British invasion

States, France, and Spanish America is essentially that which Canning adopted seventeen years later when France was again threatening to acquire an empire in the New World. In August, 1823, Canning wrote to Richard Rush, the American Minister in London, explaining British policy in regard to Spanish America and suggesting that the United States should take a similar stand. Here occur the declarations on which is based the claim that Canning was an author of the Monroe Doctrine: The Foreign Secretary announced, among other things, "That she [Britain] aimed at the possession of no portion of the colonies for herself. That she could not see the transfer of any portion of them to any other Power, with indifference" (Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine*, 64). Selkirk's prescience in foreseeing the "great political effect on the world" and the "far-reaching political and economic consequences" his plan, if carried out, would have, is, in view of subsequent events, truly astonishing.

⁴⁵The President was quite prepared to bargain over this "opinion": "Jefferson . . . thought of trading various claims of American citizens against Spain for a recognition of the contention of the United States that West Florida had been acquired by the Louisiana treaty" (Bemis, *Diplomatic History of the United States*, 183).

⁴⁶" . . . ever since he had been Secretary of State (1790-1793)—President Jefferson had looked with roving and jealous eyes on Cuba and other Spanish dominions. During the tension over the Florida question in 1805 Jefferson told the British Minister in Washington that the United States would take Cuba in case of war with Spain" (*ibid.*, 196).

of the Spanish colonies. The nation is too occupied in Europe. I agree with you that an alliance with the United States would be of utmost value if we were to attempt to liberate the Spanish Americas. Such an alliance might be worthwhile in any event. However My Lord I am in no position at this moment to do anything about your plans.

With great respect, I have the honour to be
Your obedt. Servant

GEORGE CANNING

London,

November 10, 1806.

[*Grenville's Reply to Selkirk*]

Thomas Douglas,
The Fifth Earl of of Selkirk
St. Mary's Isle
Kirkcudbright, Scotland

My Lord,

Your letter of 15 October has been given careful consideration by me. Your suggestions and recommendations interest me considerably. For some time my office has been interested in the situation in South America. This is not the time for us to take drastic steps. The war is not going well for us. We must concentrate our undivided attention on the defeat of Napoleon. As you observe an alliance with the United States for the liberation and protection of South America might hasten the defeat of France; but you don't seem to have taken into consideration the costs of the carrying out of your plans. I doubt that it would be so easy to ally the United States of America with us in the liberation of the Spanish territories in the Americas. Furthermore at the present moment our relations with the United States are not too amicable. Although Mr. Jefferson has upon occasion mentioned joining Britain please realize that he has never been particularly friendly to us. As to Mr. Burr I am of the opinion that too much confidence in him and his plans would be a great mistake. He is a defeated and disgruntled politician. He is trying to recoup his lost prestige. I too have seen the Burr dossier of documents. I am very skeptical about his plans and intentions. However, it may be as you suggest: were we to deal directly with him he might serve our purposes well.

I shall be glad to confer with you at some future date on your plans for Britain in the Americas. Should you come to London in the near future please arrange to see me.

Your obedt. servt.

GRENVILLE

London,

November 15, 1806³⁷

³⁷The fact that Selkirk was not content with Grenville's answer, but continued to speculate about the possibility of profitable interference in Spain's Empire in America, is evidenced by two entries in his diary soon afterwards:

"December 21st.

The Spanish American situation continues to intrigue me. I see great possibilities in the Americas for Britain. If Government would only act—it could ally itself with Miranda I am sure. It could get the United States to cooperate in an invasion without too much effort."

"December 22nd.

The attitude of the Grenville Government is perplexing and dilatory. Grenville's answer to my recent communication is unsatisfactory. Canning's opposition to Government is undoubtedly responsible for his attitude."

A BLUE PRINT FOR NOVA SCOTIA IN 1818

THIS remarkable letter was written by Peleg Wiswall, 1763-1836, the son of a distinguished Loyalist clergyman and himself a Loyalist, who had served a number of years in the Royal Navy and risen to the rank of lieutenant. At the close of the American War of Independence, he joined his father in Nova Scotia, obtained a grant of land in Wilmot Township and another in Digby, where he finally settled. He studied law and, after a successful career at the Bar, was made an Associate Circuit Judge of the Supreme Court in 1816—an anomalous position which he held until his death in 1836. Throughout these twenty years, he carried on a voluminous correspondence with his brother Justices as well as with T. C. Haliburton, S.G.W. Archibald, S. B. Robie, and other prominent men of his day.

The letter is remarkable as representing the views of those Loyalists who were young enough at the time of their arrival to break into a new environment and carve out a career for themselves, unhampered by that nostalgia which prevented so many of the older men from being reconciled to exile in Nova Scotia; and unembittered by memories of personal hardships suffered at the hands of Americans which made it difficult for the older Loyalists to see any good in them. However, since Wiswall's father, though born in Boston, educated at Harvard and ordained as a Congregational minister, united with the Church of England a year after Peleg's birth, it was as a member of the Established Church that Peleg came to Nova Scotia. Moreover, while serving his apprenticeship to the law and practising at the Bar, he imbibed much of the philosophy of the official class in Nova Scotia. His attitude is, therefore, that of the Anglican official group in the transitional period between the first and second generation of Loyalists, when the old animosities between Loyalists and Pre-Loyalists were being softened but the conservative elements of both were still rather contemptuous of that incipient democracy which was destined to challenge their monopoly of place and power.

He is still loyal to the British connection and wishes to maintain that connection with the outward attributes of Englishmen; but he recognizes that the Americans have evolved certain institutions and practices more suited to the American environment and suggests that Nova Scotia should adopt them. His loyalty is now less a sentiment than an intellectual concept, based upon

prudential considerations, as is also his attitude toward the Americans. His attitude toward Canadians foreshadows the views of those who saw wisdom in Maritime rather than Federal Union, just as his attitude toward his fellow-countrymen anticipates the Canadian view that Nova Scotians must be content with small industries, moderate wealth, and modest place in national affairs.

The letter was written to S. G. W. Archibald, 1777-1846, an ambitious lawyer and politician, who later became Speaker of the Assembly, a candidate for the Chief-Justiceship, and finally Master of the Rolls and Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty. In acknowledging receipt of the letter, Archibald writes:

I am quite a convert to your mode of thinking. I have long entertained a contemptible opinion of our fancied importance, but I find in the estimation of *some* we are a great and mighty part of the kingdom to which we belong, and that we should on all occasions bring ourselves into notice. I have seen sufficient of the United States to satisfy me they were, before they threw off their former Government, and before the Reign of Ambition, which shortly preceeded it, the most happy people on earth, and that in this Province to men of moderate views happiness and a great share of it is attainable, but by those alone can it be enjoyed. I have myself witnessed many strides at greatness beyond the means of individuals, and the resources of the Country, and the destruction which almost immediately followed. Many English Capitals have been wasted even in the district of Pictou, without leaving as many traces behind them as Old William McKay has left from his ax and spade.

I have quoted this reply of Archibald at length not only because it gives Wiswall's argument in a nutshell but also because it shows a Preloyalist, generally regarded as a reformer, agreeing with a Loyalist and adopting the superior attitude of that official class which he is so anxious to propitiate in order that his own rise to eminence might not be impeded.

As Wiswall's letter is already "an abominable long one" and self-explanatory, I have decided not to annotate the text: but merely to say, in general, that the period was one of great travail, in which the merchants were still the dominant group of the inhabitants and, through their Committee of Trade, were bringing pressure to bear upon the local government to deal with that depression which followed the War of 1812, and upon the imperial government to exclude the Americans from the fisheries and West Indian markets. Hence, the cry for bounties on agriculture and the fisheries, an increase of population, and a voice in imperial policy.

Incidentally, it might be said that the "ebullition of Talent

and Patriotism," at which Wiswall sneered, gathered sufficient momentum amongst the unprivileged orders, during the next three decades, to supersede the merchants, from whom they had learned their lessons, and in their own right to achieve self-government, overthrow monopoly and privilege, and establish a career open to talent. Thus, by hitching their wagon to a star, they did reach the tree-tops; and, if they did not reach their economic goal, they did raise the general level of intelligence to perceive their own handicaps and did broaden the general basis of self-confidence to grapple with their own problems in their own way. None the less, such "realists" as Wiswall and such disquisitions as this played no small part in the intellectual awakening of Nova Scotia, by putting the reformers on their mettle, and compelling them to find reasons for the faith that was in them.

D. C. HARVEY

The Public Archives of Nova Scotia,
Halifax.

Annapolis 14th March 1818

Dear Sir.

I write this letter for your perusal at some such time as may find You with little else to do—At present You cannot have leisure to bestow a thought upon it.

Possessing as You do, a sufficient share of the public estimation—being yet in the prime of life,—having all your connexions within the Province and a large family to provide for; there is not perhaps, any public man who ought to be more earnestly engaged in promoting its welfare—Hence, it is reasonable to expect that, for some time to come, You will take an active share in our public measures—I hope You may,—and that You will take such care of your health and keep yourself so free from irredeemable pledges, improper associations and fantastic prejudices, as that You may be useful as well as active—

At this time (if we may judge from our Newspapers) there is no want of attention to our public affairs in all their several departments—There is indeed a wonderful ebullition of talent and patriotism—What exalted projects rise in the vapour for the advancement of Learning & Taste,—for promoting our Agriculture and Fisheries,—Aggrandising our Commerce etc!!!—We all walk and stalk in buskins from the Sublime Chairman of the Committee of Trade down to Little Edmund Ward the Printer—This *invaluable Province* with its *incalculable resources* cannot be thought on by some without producing the most exalted fantasies—There is however a difference between being inspired and being puffed up—The latter is as injurious to weak heads as it is often distressing to weak bowels—it is to be hoped However that, after we get tired of our pompous attempts, we shall, like the wise men of Gotham (who laboured in vain to hedge in the Cuckou and so retain Summer all the year) go on rationally to our proper work—What that work is, will best appear after fairly investigating, and truly understanding, what are our real circumstances and capacities—We should look into our affairs calmly and thoroughly, unbiassed by childish prejudices or vain and silly hopes—With a manly determination to make the best of our lot and to "*cut our coat according to*

our cloth"—Although the view I take of the situation and prospects of this Colony does not picture them in a flattering light, yet I see no cause of discouragement to those who can be content with very moderate wealth, acquired gradually, by habits of industry & oeconomy—To those, who enjoying liberty and security, can be content to be humble *even in their taste*—In fine it is a comfortable good country for those who are wholly ignorant of the *Great*,—the *Learned* or the *Gay* worlds—The acquisition of great power & wealth,—proficiency in the sciences—and the refinements of fashionable life, are what Nova Scotia has no more pretensions to in reason, than Norway or Finland—To live in comfortable coarse plenty—To have our relations & friends comfortable about us—To feel no extreme solicitude about "what we shall eat or wherewithal we shall be clothed"—To be civilised but not over refined—To have as much learning as can be carried into practical use in the common affairs of life; and sense to buy a *pennyworth* more from other countries when we want it—is, enough to make us as happy *as we can be*—I am persuaded that the Golden Age was never more realized than in the late British Colonies before the American Revolution—not immediately before the Revolution, but at a prior period, anterior to their becoming sensible of their aggregate wealth and political importance—After tasting the fruit of this tree of Knowledge paradise vanished—

If things are suffered to take their natural course, every new people (and such may the people of a colony be considered) will arrive at that state of society in which the greatest possible earthly happiness will be attained to—Every rational enjoyment will be accompanied with the capacity to enjoy it—This happy state of society is not perdurable. The course of Nature and of Providence forbide it—How long it might last before it should wear itself out, is something problematical—History is not clear upon this point—In many cases it has been broken in upon by external violence—Sometimes by physical evils—But almost always by your damned political Doctors & innovators—One of these creatures is equal to Satan, but an association or Committee of them is as dangerous as a Legion of Devils—Although Nova Scotia has nothing favorable in its clime—little in its soil & productions, and less still in its local situation, yet it has natural constitution sufficient to bring it forward to buxome healthy puberty, if not overstrained, poisoned, dandled and debauched in its present child-hood—But it is time to have done with figurative language—What I shall add will be plain enough—Some of it may at first astonish you—Much of it will look like mere ungrounded assertion—The limits of a letter however long (and this will be an abominable long one) will not admit of my stating a regular series of propositions and then adding my reasons in support of them—I therefore give you my opinions in short hand, with now and then a hint at the course of reasoning by which I am led to advance them—What I write is for your ears, and not for those (by much the greatest part of our busy men) who are not able to bear what I think sound doctrine—When you have thought upon the several subjects *anew* which I shall hear subjoin mention of without much regard to order, we can *chat* them over on the next circuit—"As *Iron sharpens Iron*" (says Solomon) so on"

The first and most important subject of consideration is our connection with, and relation to, the Mother Country—I am sorry to find that those over industrious gentlemen in Great Britain, I mean the Editors of the *Edinburg Review* and some other of the *Public Journalists*, have begun to agitate this matter—It is to be hoped that, none of our *Busy bodies* here will catch the contagion—There are, and ever will be, subjects of the highest import relative not only to general politics, but to

Government, Religion, and even the morality of private life, which sensible men may think of, but can never write or converse about without doing infinite mischief—There is no necessity for any express communication of thought upon these subjects—all men of a certain degree of understanding are always *inwardly* in exact agreement of opinion upon them,—and, when they press themselves forward in the natural course and revolution of human affairs, they are sure to find enough of minds ready prepared to handle and dispose of them without difficulty or danger—But they should never be *anticipated* nor *profaned*—

The true present interest of Novascotia depends upon our being *obscure and unnoticed*—Our Commercial Gentlemen are wonderfully anxious that we should be thought of importance to the Mother Country both in a political and commercial point of view,—That we should even be thought to possess a *formidable mercantile* body of men owning a large disposable capital!!!—Traders are very apt to imagine that all the politics of the world turn upon bargain and sale, profit and loss—But few notions are worse grounded than this—History gives it no countenance;—And, untill human nature be wholly altered it never can—If England was a country of as close calculating policy (which thanks to God it is not) as Holland, I should say that, merchants, of all others, would least know how to win her favor & patronage—But we must not open the Chapter of Calculation on any account—It can only serve to bring us into contempt,—it may cause us to be *disliked*, perhaps to be *punished*. I do aver that, in *obscurity* lies our value and our strength;—And that all we want of the Mother Country is her *good natured negligence*—

The first Lord Granville was induced to plan that fatal system of raising a revenue in the late American Colonies by hearing, from the reports of British officers, of the splendid appearance made by the richer citizens of Philadelphia New York and Boston in their houses,—And what they boasted of their Cod and Whale fisheries, Foreign trade etc.—It seems that, wherever General Amherst, Lord Howe etc. etc., were entertained, the plate & servants of a dozen families were collected, and the pomp of discourse was equal to the glitter of the furniture—Our Province House—Government House—and not a few other things, are, to say the least of them, *Vanities*—And they are most certainly *false indicia* of our circumstances—We are *intrinsically poor* and nothing but what is *Super-human* can prevent our remaining so for a long time to come—But we may nevertheless be happy, and we ought to be contented—I may again occasionally glance upon this subject of our insignificance; but, to pursue this head, which relates to our dependance upon the Parent Kingdom, I do pronounce that, any change in that way, would bring upon us utter distress and ruin—It would throw us in the back ground as far as Newfoundland or Labrador. And we should long (perhaps forever) remain a bleak, barbarous collection of oppressed fishermen and potatoe planters—To avoid this direful state, we must not affect an importance which may eventuate in our being detected as cheats—Our hold upon the Mother Country should be upon her magnanimity her generosity—her kind attachment; and perhaps, upon her pride—It is in our power to win the hearts of the Governors and other principal officers she sends amongst us, by a kind, frank and respectful demeanor—Avoiding flattery and servility—We should pride ourselves upon the glories of Britain—Her Colonies her Insignia of every kind; and be as like Englishmen as possible in all matters of external appearance. In matters however of interior jurisprudence, police and regulation, we must not copy after the institutions of any part of Europe—Those of England are clumsy, complex, expensive and

awkward—They have been simplified, refined and improved on this side the Atlantic—

Beyond all doubt the ambitious days of Great Britain are now past—She has run a glorious Career, and laid up a sufficient stock both of reputation and wealth—Upon that stock she can subsist with dignity for a long time to come—If we are not fools or knaves we may repose under her laurels and partake of her goodly treasure—But it will not be wise to pester her often with lists of grievances, troublesome petitions and *special agents*—I should be so sorry that a Secretary of State should, in some peevish moment, say, he wished us at the Devil—Our better way is, now and then, to take some liberties without asking, and embrace some gracious opportunity for pardon & indulgence—I think of Jersey & Guernsey—Little Dependancies, whose interest is to be Loyal, and whose attachment seems of the nature of Affection, are indulged beyond all rules of justice or general policy—Before closing this head, I have to say a word of what ought to be our conduct towards the United States—To call them names, and to affect to sneer at them is, *in us*, of all people under Heaven, the most contemptibly ridiculous—No individual—no society, resorts to blackguarding but from conscious inferiority and utter despair of emulation—Dont *let us* place ourselves so low, and dont *let us* provoke either recrimination or enquiry—Our interest is to make friends not to make enemies—There is, and always will be, in the body of the United States, a great many absolute British Subjects there resident from choice—There is also a large and respectable body of American citizens connected by the ties of blood and friendship, as well as of interest, with families in Great Britain and Ireland—If we have no regard to our own dignity it is nevertheless *not prudent* to wound the feelings of these persons,—When speaking of the United States,—Their Measures—Institutions—principal men etc, the language (written or verbal) of our Courts of Law—of our Legislative Assemblies—of all public societies and private genteel companies, should be, decent and respectful—As cold however, and as guarded, as You please—I wish some of our newspapers would not, on this subject, address themselves so often to the taste of Water Street and a Man-of-Wars Cockpit—

Our relation to the Canadas may be dispatched in a few words—They are close and near neighbours to the United States,—Nature has placed insuperable bars to their ever becoming neighbours of ours—They care little about us, and we need not trouble ourselves much about them—As fellow subjects of the same Great Empire, we should wish them to go right, and rejoice in their fair success & prosperity—But our fates and fortunes are not necessarily blended either now or ultimately—Those countries and their populations are made of quite different materials from ours—They have different views,—different pursuits—They will soon grow to be great and to be saucy—With us they will have but little connection either in trade or otherwise—Our near friends, and true and lasting associates, "through all the changing scenes of life," must be the people of N Brunswick, Cap Breton and Prince Edward Island.

Having looked abroad, as far as a Nova-Scotian is bound to look, We will now look at home—And the first subject that requires consideration is, our *population*—I think there is a present disposition amongst us to force that beyond our means—From the Nature of Our soil and clime we do not, and without a miracle we cannot, get on rapidly in providing the means of subsistence—*This is not a provision Country*—It is a country of great consumption—We use an extraordinary proportion of food, cloathing—and fuel—For both man and beast we require a great expence in the article of Shelter—We have very short Summers in which to

provide for long winters—Our wild lands are long in reclaiming—and our crops, especially of bread-corn, are very uncertain—the labor of a family for five years exclusively employed upon the vast wilderness lands we have (supposing no assistance from fishery or from natural meadows and the rearing of cattle) would not place it in a situation to secure the possessors *the bare necessities of life*—The first settlers although they had great advantages from the *cream & choice of all the lands—from the disproportioned abundance of the River fish to the paucity of the then colonists—from game in the forests—and from the unrestrained use of wood and timber*, yet had many difficulties and suffered many hardships—Many of them were discouraged—Such as persevered, by gaining from the failure and expenditures of others,—by various adventitious aids (not like to occur again)—and above all, by the accumulated product of sixty years labour and savings, have acquired to the Province a considerable stock in improved lands, buildings, cattle and other valuables—But by no means such a stock as has anything to spare, or such an one as, considering what has been acquired by other colonies in the like time, can be anyways boasted of—It is in truth a *hard* and a *slow* country—Its means for feeding and cloathing its inhabitants, aided by all the strength of its present capital stock, will be found adequate to provide but for a very few beyond its own natural increase—Nature has adapted it only for a comparatively thin population—And, its own *natural increase* will in 30 years, or 40 at most,—bring the number of its inhabitants to the point where (as far as the *general* comfort and happiness are concerned) the maximum of population ought perhaps to be fixed—

If we could indeed entice some *rich* people from other countries (not however in such numbers as to disturb our present state of society which is yet forming and hardly settled and coagulated) to come amongst us, I should not object to their bringing a reasonable number of poor adventurers with them—But in my 35 years of experience in this country, I have found no persons rich either in pocket, character or brains that have come to settle amongst us as *of choice*—Here and there one has occasionally been *entrapped* for years or for life—I think however the time *may* come, when this Province will prove an inviting one to respectable persons of moderate wealth who from particular events or circumstances shall have a country to chuse—This generation however will never see that time if we get overrun with Maroons—Chesepeak negroes,—cast-off-Fishermen, or even with too many *poor* Scotch, Irish or English emigrants, let them be ever such useful and worthy persons in *themselves and in their proper place*—It is impossible to push on a colony advantageously beyond the course of Nature—Every thing to be good must have its time to grow,—and should not be forced—Let us have time to unite,—to civilize, and to organize—To become a people, i e, a community understanding each other and interested in each other—Let us not *over* leap that blessed period in the progress of a growing people which is attended with cheapness and plenty,—when there is enough for all,—and the means yet unoccupied of adding more—It is somewhat surprizing to hear our larger *selfish farmers* supported by men of sense (but certainly I think not men of consideration) in crying out about the price of labour—Labour must be at a high price in Novascotia if the labourer gets sufficient to cloath and feed himself and family comfortably through the Year—If he does not, God knows it is a bad country for him,—And, as he ought, as he certainly will, quit it for a better as soon as he can—But either the importation or even retention of many *poor settlers* at a time, will only have a transient effect upon the price of labour—It will however have a lasting effect in filling the Poor-houses,—raising the price of provisions,—increasing crimes,—bringing down the character of the

Province, and eventually, furnishing recruits to the American Army & Navy—Upon this head do not let us be cajoled by land-jobbers—visionary speculators in trade,—selfish farmers or political quacks—The present interest of the Province requires that *none* should be *invited* to it—Such few as voluntarily or casually get amongst us (having decent habits and apparent capacity for earning a livelihood) will find their way to employment and encouragement—But *Hords of Paupers* and Lazzaroni, only come here to distress us and freeze and starve themselves—

If you attend to my train of thinking, you cannot but perceive that, I am rather for our doing nothing than for our doing much in public matters—In all public measures the great danger lies in doing too much—The political as well as the natural patient is often liable to *die of the Doctor*—I have ever been of opinion that nearly the whole duty of Government is comprized in the protecting of its subjects against outward violence and internal disorder—People first delegated their power to Kings in their capacities of Generals to lead them forth to War—While at the head of the army it was necessary the Chiefs should exercise the powers of judging and doing execution in matters disputed amongst the soldiery—The use of these powers in War, gradually led to the exercise of them in peace,—And the true idea of a *King* is that, of an eminent man uniting in himself the offices of Generallissimo and Supreme Judge—When, from the natural consequences attending governmental power, and from encroachment by it, it began to make a dazzling appearance in the sight of the people, they were led first to acquiesce in its assuming the patronage of the religion, the arts, the commerce etc of the Nation—And, as a fair consequence it followed that, Government must have the right to encourage, to controul, to direct and restrain them severally and respectively, as good policy should require—All civilized governments now exercise this *right* more or less—and all governments have the vanity to ascribe the riches and prosperity of their respective people entirely to the wisdom of their laws and ordinances for the encouragement of trade manufactures etc. etc.—But perhaps the truth is that, if a Community is honoured and respected abroad, and life, liberty and property are well secured at home, little or nothing more is wanting—Society being formed, and the rights of its members defined, the people may be left to their natural instincts and propensities. They will find their way to wealth *as fast*, and by *such means*, as will prove the most permanently beneficial for them—As the world however has gone, and perhaps as it may (altho I very much doubt it) long continue to go,—*We* must dabble a little in this kind of quackery, to get some *present flesh* on our bones, although we should pay for it in gout and dropsy hereafter—

"*Our agriculture must be encouraged*"—What encouragement does it want? The farmers are generally Tenants in fee simple—They do not pay the most trifling quit-rent—They pay no taxes but parish rates, and these very small—They sell every species of their produce one third higher than the like is sold for in any part of North America—"But our farmers are not as rich as Carolina Planters"—They are not, nor can they ever expect to be—They are however, at this very period, more wealthy than they could reasonably have expected, considering the nature of the soil and climate, and the poverty with which they all commenced—They are not to be sure more than half as rich as they assume to be, because they foolishly overvalue their lands—And this false estimate of the value of our lands, is the true cause why so many have incurred debts which they now find difficult to pay, and make an outcry for *paper-money*—I am well acquainted with several farms whose annual product (I mean in kind) has not increased for twenty years past,—And yet the price at which those farms are valued, and some-

times sold, has, in that time quadrupled—Is it to be wondered at, that a farmer who finds his property by *magic* raised from £400 to 1600 should not be afraid of incurring a single hundred pounds of debt when enticed by the luxurious sweets it brings?—But if people will eat their cake, they cannot also have their cake—If *paper money* be issued, it may enable some dextrous persons to shift the burthen from their own shoulders to their neighbours, but it must rest somewhere—What has been anticipated in luxury and false grounded speculation must be paid for—“But if *paper money* (issued by way of loan on landed property) would produce *general industry, oeconomy and selfdenial*, the consequence would be that, the arrearages so anticipated, would be gradually and insensibly paid up in a course of years, without producing any material revolution of property amongst the farmers”—Such paper money is founded entirely upon the principle of the progressive increase of the products of a country beyond what is sufficient for the maintenance of its inhabitants—When Government issues this kind of paper money it takes the following things for granted—*Viz.*; first, that the inhabitants possess lands susceptible of great improvement—2d, that such lands will be improved—3d that the labor and expence of improvement will be repaid, together with a profit, to the improver, within a reasonable time—Lastly, that this profit will not be spent or exhausted by the improver, but shall add to the mass of the general acquired wealth or capital stock of the community—In *Pensylvania & Jersey* there could be no doubt upon the three first points,—and the sober quakerly habits of the people afforded good grounds for hoping well upon the last—Merchants were not afraid to give their paper circulation, considering it as the certain representative of Flour, pork, flax, staves etc., etc., *in future*—But we do not promise so fair for redeeming our pledge (should we make one) on any of those heads—Most especially upon the last—If the most exorbitant prices for our commodities paid in ready silver and gold, would *not keep us even*—how shall we *get ahead* from lower prices paid in paper? If we are in debt, but nevertheless rich in every valuable but specie, or, if we are certain of being so rich in a very little time, why then paper money would help us—But if we are (as I shrewdly suspect) rich in nothing but *our hopes*, I must say our climate is, as *yet*, too windy for the safe circulation of paper money.—

As to Bounties upon clearing wood-lands raising wheat & rye etc.—They are so many libels upon the soil & clime of the country as well as upon the understanding of the proposers—Our agriculture wants no *human encouragement* beyond what the example of the more enlightned and judicious class of cultivators will afford it—These will, by degrees, as experience shall justify, lead to the establishment of that System of Husbandry which is best adapted to our situation under all our circumstances of climate & soil, connected with our present means from capital, population etc.—The exertions of individuals, or of voluntary associations, for the purpose of importing Breeds of Cattle—Seeds—Agricultural Implements & Books, with an eye either to reputation or pecuniary profit, will do more in that way, and *do it better* than any Institution under the patronage of Government—

“*But we can certainly get rich by our fisheries, for we are most advantageously situated for carrying them on*”—Now the latter part of this proposition I utterly deny, although I will admit the former within certain limits—Is Iceland, or Norway, or the Shetland Isles etc., better calculated for carrying on the Whale and Herring fisheries than Holland or England?—What answer does experience give to this question?—In truth the adventurer from a mild climate can fit out earlier, and be in a high northern latitude sooner, than the frozen inhabitant of the polar region—

But this is not all—The inhabitant of the milder clime is always richer, and nearer to every species of necessary supply—What does Novascotia afford for the carrying on of the Bank fisheries?—Not one single article excepting the *bare wood* of which the fishing vessel is constructed—Neither Sails—Rigging—Anchors—Cables—Pitch—Tar—Hooks—Lines—Nets—Boots—Boobels—Iron—Knives—Bread—Pork or anything else—The *whole* must be got from abroad; and we have not the choice of purchasing where we please,—We must purchase only from that country *where it is most difficult for us to pay*—In our present state of domestic productions and manufactures what profit can accrue to the country at large by pushing forward the Bank fisheries? Leave them to such amongst us as can and will carry them on occasionally, and to a certain extent—These people will not be induced to alter their jog by *Your Bounty*—or to stop for the want of it.—When peculiar circumstances render it expedient to fit out some fishing vessels they will do so—But when things look another way, they will stop, *Your Bounty non obstante*—The American Government did not by Bounties *create a fishery*—They gave bounties to prevent the decline and ruin of one, which (under most favorable circumstances) had been planted with the country and had grown and incorporated itself with it—on this head *it is impossible* for us to emulate or compet with the Americans—The whole provincial revenue employed for ten years would eventuate in nothing but disappointment—The Americans, *in large or banking vessels* will catch & cure fish cheaper than we can—Whatever they, sell them for at a foreign market, *is nearly all gain to the capital stock of their country*, because, in procuring their *outfits*, they pay but little to any other nation—Our fishing Vessels must remain frozen up for six months, but theirs *may coast during that time* from pillar to post, through all the creeks of Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, Florida, etc.—Without any Bounty we do, and shall continue, to catch fish enough for *our own West India Islands*—There we have a preference—There, *and there only*, we can afford to sell such as we catch in *Banking Vessels*—It is from our small boat fishery for Cod, and from our fisheries for salmon, shad herrings etc., in rivers and creeks, that we make any *real gain*—In these fisheries we have no interlopers—And the means for carrying them on from first to last (excepting only the article of Salt) may be, and generally are furnished from within ourselves—The great fisheries once carried on in Nova Scotia (alluded to in the specious memorial presented the other day to the Governor) were of the nature of those carried on in Newfoundland—The instant this country became generally colonised by planters, they failed one and all—If Newfoundland were susceptible of cultivation, and the soil was granted to planters, the same thing would happen there—Newfoundland is a resting place for British fishermen, who for centuries have carried on a fishery there beneficial to themselves and to the Nation; but the Island is as little benefited by it as the Banks or Rocks which surround it—We are bound to consider what measures are like to produce the general advancement and prosperity of the colony, and not what is the mere interest of traders—These persons by the bye, are properly citizens of no country—The whole world is their common—No country having good laws for the protection of property will ever want a sufficient proportion of them—Beyond that protection they want no encouragement—As the sole object of their pursuit is gain, they are too apt (as a body) to be indifferent as to the expence of whose happiness this gain is acquired—Power they never should be intrusted with, as all history and observation prove how dishonorably for human nature they exercise it—Their wealth will always give them more than their due share of influence—And as no people better understand *their own peculiar* interest, they may safely

be left to themselves—We need not distress and perplex ourselves with *creating fisheries or soliciting monopolies in trade* for them—They want our bounties less than the agriculturists—But neither should have them in any other shape than that of affording them a well ordered and well administred government—A Revenue much less than what our present scale of duties will produce (in the worst of times) would be competent to all this and also afford a surplus for deeds of munificence and charity *fully commensurate with the size and rank of this Province*—Before closing this head, I must say that, I care not how many sources of trade may be laid open to us;—but, I am for no monopolies and for no preference in any market—These sort of *Sugar Teats* are liable to be plucked very suddenly from our mouths, —and *we have not a constitution sufficiently robust to bear such weaning*—If there be active individuals amongst us possessed of more capital than can be employed beyond the necessary (or present circumscribed) trade & commerce of the colony, they may find ample room for minor adventure, in establishing little manufactories of such articles of domestic consumption as are usually manufactured in other new countries—I do not believe that the whole civilized World affords another instance of a community like ours—A population of 80,000 persons scarcely making an attempt to manufacture the simplest and coarsest articles of necessary domestic use—Such enormous buyers as we are from abroad, must needs become poor and insolvent although we used the strictest oeconomy—The attempts to be made in the way of manufactures should all be *on a small scale*—Such as an individual could support and maintain, through a course of several years, against the stream of adverse circumstances, without incurring the risque of any loss beyond what he could fear without a complaint—Away with all our magnificent projects!—We have attended too many Mountains in labour with mice—There is room for rational pursuits in this way accompanied with a reasonable prospect of moderate advantage either direct or collateral—To instance in the case of Iron—One hundred Acres of land near to ore, and having the advantage of a water-stream might be purchased for £200

A Forge—with trip-hammer, Various grind-stones turned by water, and a	
Black-smiths shop & Tools.....	300
A House sufficient to accomodate master & 4 men.....	300
Two strong horses with a Cart etc.....	60

£860

An establishment like this, well supported, would manufacture some iron from the ore into pigs and bars—and would refine it sufficiently for cart-tire & very many other articles of extensive use—The Blacksmith shop would be an advantageous appendage to the forge—And the whole would *not overdo*, the business in that way of many of our country neighbourhoods—The annual gain would probably be equal to the interest on the capital employed—The proprietors profit must be expected to result from the *rise of land*—And in eventual advantageous sale—A moderate establishment, and a moderate piece of land attached to it, will invite a neighbourhood A great establishment and the monopoly of many thousand acres, drives all but miserables away from it—Such things therefore will not do in a new country—Similar to this project in iron, should be all other projects in mining—quarrying—Shore fishing etc—So should be all manufactories of wooden work—cordage—paper—leather—Felts—Soaps etc. etc. of which there is a variety that could be carried on advantageously in several parts of the Province.

The late Col: Burbidge of Cornwallis, a man of excellent natural understanding

improved by experience and reflection, was one of the earliest settlers in this Province—I have often heard him say that, he never knew an industrious person fail in it from any cause but that of undertaking too much—"Novascotia (he observed) was, altogether a country of *little things*—That it was adapted only to little snug projects—That it never did, and (he believed) never could, afford any thing but disappointment to great undertakings—His opinion was that, there never would be a class of *great propertied* men in it—I may venture to add that it will be full as happy without it—There are countries in which persons of this class can (with the best dispositions to the contrary) do nothing but harm

If trade wants any support in this Province beyond what I have mentioned, i.e., the protection of the persons and property employed in it, I am at a loss to find what it is—Under the head of this protection is properly to be considered the *urgent necessity* of rigidly enforcing the various laws respecting just measure & weight and also those which regulate the manner in which our several productions from the land and water shall be prepared for sale, market or exportation—It is a sad melancholy truth that no people deal less upon good faith than our own blue-nosed countrymen in general—and I think it will be some time before Novascotians will deserve and obtain a character for manly uprightness and fair dealing—There are physical—moral—political and even legal hindrances in the way of improvement—Nothing however is to be despaired of in a community that is yet growing and forming A word may be added here about *Smuggling* which, is most certainly, in itself, and in most of its bearings, a very bad thing. But I fear it is a thing (as our coasts are situated) not to be prevented either by laws, or by officers—Out of Halifax and St. John it will not be undertaken in the gross or at any great risque of loss, but it is, and will be pursued in detail—There is, and will be, a constant little smuggling traffick carried on from day to day by a hundred little channells—The settlers round our extensive shores find an advantage in it—And it is not in the power of all the ingenious Committees of Trade in the world to convince them that they can get articles of like value with those they smuggle on anything near such good terms from those who call themselves our *fair traders*—It were well if all temptation to smuggling could be removed—Perhaps a liberty to import from the United States every article of their natural production, and certain articles of their manufacture would not affect the interest of the Mother Country to the value of a groat—Very few articles would be gotten from thence more than we now get, but they would be obtained honestly,—of a better quality, and at a lower price—A few of our *wholesale smugglers*, and certain griping traders will not be able to listen with patience to this sort of doctrine, and it may be too strong for the importance and gravity of a Custom House Officer—But if it could prevail, the general interest of the colony would be greatly advanced by it—It would help our agriculture and our fisheries, and without difficulty it might be made to increase our revenue—The reluctance however of the Mother Country to relax her old commerical system—that system which has led to the point of her present prosperity (but which perhaps is now no longer useful or necessary, but on the contrary dangerous, as leading her too far into mischief & Disappointment) will most probably prevent our being indulged in this way—And if she will not accord the favor graciously, let us by no means worry her with petitions, lists of Grievances and Special Agents—But above all things do not let us endeavor to *reason* her into the measure by writing pretty pamphlets, framing resolves, or any thing else of a *publick nature*—It is not for our interest to be thought *very knowing*; especially in matters of state—We had better bear with this evil of smuggling,

which, after it attains to a certain height will be generally considered as incurable, and also, as necessary to our existence—Of course it will be connived at accordingly, and so at last become (virtually) as useful and harmless as a free trade—

The great Doc. Johnson tells us that, his good old father was a sensible man of steady uniform habits, and that he always locked, with great regularity, the front door of his shop, although for years previous, the back-wall had mouldered away so as to leave the whole open to all the boys in the street—

Having exhausted so much paper in attempting to shew that, upon those points about which our public attention has been so much engaged, we have indeed little or nothing to do, and may safely set our hearts at ease upon them—It may be asked if I have thought upon anything about which our legislators and public men ought to be employed—The answer is that I have; and that I can name subjects of public utility, and even of pressing necessity, that require the present and earnest attention of all good men who consider this province as the home of themselves and their families—We stand in need of divers regulations *practicable*, and *certainly* useful—Of some that will be very soon found indispensable—But it will be time enough for me to open that chapter, when I learn how what I have thus far advanced is relished & understood. When the Treasury Chest is exhausted beyond all hopes of restoration the Assembly may meet and deliberate without disturbance from without or from within—Their advisors, instructors and petitioners will thin away to nothing—Left to themselves, our plain members will be fair judges of what is proposed to them on the foot of sober reason—No one having an interest in flattering of them, they will cease to appreciate themselves falsely, and learn to value rightly, such of their associates as are better educated—The Body will then insensibly rise into estimation—Respect will be repaid by esteem and regard—Dignity cannot be maintained by mere assertion and pretence—But if one body of the legislature conducts with modesty, delicacy, prudence, fairness and manly firmness, avoiding both obstinacy and ostentation, the other body *must* by degrees meet them on the same ground

May the time shortly come, when both bodies will be less talked about and more deeply respected

Yours

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

RECENT BOOKS ON RECONSTRUCTION

Canada, the War and After. By W. E. C. HARRISON, NEIL M. MORRISON, R. G. ANGLIN, J. F. PARKINSON, PAUL M. LIMBERT. Sponsored by the Young Men's Committee, National Council, Y.M.C.A. (Live and Learn books.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 78. (60c.)

War and Reconstruction: Some Canadian Issues. Edited by A. R. M. LOWER and J. F. PARKINSON. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 106. (75c.)

Reconstruction in Canada. Edited by C. A. ASHLEY. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. xvi, 148. (\$1.00)

Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada. By HARRY M. CASSIDY. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. x, 197. (\$2.50)

THE first three of these volumes are symposia with contributions of varying length on different issues of war and reconstruction from more than thirty contributors in all. Of these, about half a dozen are on problems of organization for war and thus fated to be out of date shortly after their preparation. The principal theme, however, carried forward in some twenty-five contributions, is reconstruction in Canada with some attention to the international conditions which may affect domestic plans.

Canada, the War and After, is a study outline issued by the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association early in 1942. Naturally enough, the organization of Canada for war is the principal concern of most of the brief essays. *War and Reconstruction* contains the addresses given at the Institute of Public Affairs at Lake Couchiching in the late summer of 1942. Our optimism was rising then and eleven of the sixteen addresses are on reconstruction, covering such specific matters as international economic reconstruction, revision of the Canadian constitution, and problems of agriculture and labour as well as some general discussion on broader issues. *Reconstruction in Canada* contains ten lectures, delivered at the University of Toronto late in 1942, and a general introduction by the editor. Experts on soil, water and forest resources, on general construction, housing and town-planning, outline what they think can and should be done about these matters. There are also essays which try to measure what is happening to the Canadian economy under the stress of war, to define the conditions of international economic collaboration, to state the relation of democratic institutions and social ideals to reconstruction. *Social Security and Reconstruction*, on the other hand, is the work of a single author, Dr. H. M. Cassidy, probably the most knowledgeable Canadian on the general subject of social security.

Even if a reviewer were competent in all the subjects discussed, he could not do justice to these symposia in a single review, because they raise directly or indirectly almost all the controversial questions of our day. It must suffice to say that there is much food for thought in the views expressed in these volumes, particularly because many of them will be found to diverge sharply from one another if their implications be pursued. It may be worth while, however, to note certain emphases in the subjects discussed.

First, almost all the contributions are concerned with the material aspects of reconstruction. One contributor quotes the dictum of Vice-President Wallace that this war is being fought in order that everyone in the world may be able to drink a quart of milk every day. This remark and the general emphasis of the three volumes suggest the comment that men do not live by milk alone. Reference to the Scriptural wisdom adumbrated here is likely to be met with suspicion,

perhaps rightly so, because, in our complacency, we are too likely to act as if other men could live without bread at all. Still, it remains true that the evils in the world are not likely to be greatly reduced unless men become more civilized. Better material conditions, we believe, contribute to civilization but they are not the major conditioning factor. This, of course, is not a criticism of the contributors who addressed themselves to the topics assigned to them. In fairness too, it must be said that one or two contributions in each volume is devoted to what are called spiritual issues. But one may ask whether it would not have been better if half the essays in each volume had been so devoted. Only in that way can we find out whether we are close together in aims or whether we are worlds apart and therefore wasting our time in discussing collective means to be employed by democratic governments toward ends on which there is no broad agreement.

Another emphasis—or omission—is related to the one just discussed. While much is said about what should be done, little consideration is given to the specifically political means by which it is to be accomplished or to the political obstacles lying in the way. It is not suggested that experts in agricultural problems, natural resources, and social services should also be experts on political means nor is it affirmed that, aside from politicians in active practice, there are any experts on political means. The criticism is rather that many of the doctors prescribing in these volumes show either a sharp impatience or an easy dogmatism about political means. This is not true of all the contributors. For example—and example only—Professor Parkinson, in discussing international economic collaboration in *Reconstruction in Canada*, gives the clearest possible statement of the political obstacles which are likely to be found lying across the path. Professor Brady, in the same volume, draws attention to a number of critical political matters and one would like to see a substantial essay on each of them—and on others equally important. Certainly, they demand thought and attention which are not given them in these volumes or in public discussion. One might almost prophesy that many desirable reconstruction plans will fail, not because public support cannot be mobilized for them, but because of a failure to adjust the schemes to the configuration of political forces or to convince public opinion that some adjustment of governmental institutions and machinery condition their success.

Anyone who thinks this is fanciful should read Dr. Cassidy's volume where he will find a catalogue of the adjustments necessary to give a comprehensive plan of social security a chance of success and the reasons why. Dr. Cassidy's main purpose is to outline such a comprehensive plan for Canada. He describes clearly the character and coverage of the present system, pointing out its inadequacies in terms of what he conceives to be our needs and its defects in organization and administration. These defects are so serious that they diminish seriously the effectiveness of what we are now trying to do, and they must be faced if we are to go into larger programmes of social security such as he proposes. These defects, disparity of financial resources within and between different levels of government, unsatisfactory distribution of operating functions, poor co-ordination and untrained personnel, all raise first-class political problems.

He argues for national leadership in a closely co-ordinated programme of social security. Generally, this means direct federal administration of social insurance (those services where contribution is a condition of benefit); while public assistance (in which a means test is a condition of benefit, generally in cash), and other welfare services (where the government dispenses directly specific services relating to such things as public health, mental hygiene, and child welfare, and not cash benefits),

should be administered by provincial and/or local governments. The leadership of the Dominion government should range over the whole field. The Dominion should reorganize its administrative structure, concentrating its social security activities in two, or at most three, departments and making large investments in trained personnel. It should make grants to the provincial authorities conditional on their adopting uniform national standards of service and employing the best trained personnel and the latest scientific techniques. The Dominion must also maintain bureaux for conducting research and supplying technical and scientific information relating to the whole field of social security.

Dr. Cassidy is fully aware that this will take some doing because even if the public is prepared to spend a billion dollars a year on social security, there must still be drastic financial readjustments between the Dominion and the provinces and some reallocation of functions among the three levels of government. Yet he insists that this is only a beginning. Provincial governments must reorganize their administrative structures, setting up departments of public welfare to co-ordinate social security measures at the provincial level. Both rural municipalities and great metropolitan areas must adjust their administrative systems. At all levels, there must be a revolution in personnel practices, amateurism and patronage giving way to personnel capable of carrying the heavy burden of administration and trained to use the specialized techniques of social service work.

The most stubborn of all these problems is perhaps the distribution of responsibility for the social security programme over the three levels of government. Dr. Cassidy is critical of particular recommendations of the Sirois Commission on this matter. First, he is opposed to federal administration of unemployment assistance. In general, he believes that the best administrative authority for public assistance is the one closest to the recipient—the municipality. He believes it is of the highest importance to integrate the administration of public assistance and public welfare work. Federal administration of this one form of public assistance will put insuperable difficulties in the way of integration and will involve much duplication of staff and consequent confusion. Secondly, he deprecates strongly the commission's condemnation of conditional grants, urging that federal leadership is vital to a comprehensive programme and that the only way to get it is to give federal grants to the provinces conditional on the provinces and municipalities maintaining certain standards of performance.

Generally speaking, Dr. Cassidy's arguments for decentralizing administration of public assistance and other welfare services by keeping them in the hands of the local and provincial governments are decisive. There is a very strong case for integrating unemployment assistance with other forms of public assistance at that level. But the Sirois Commission thought it was vital to integrate unemployment assistance with all other broad measures for combating unemployment and these are measures which must be taken by the Dominion. A good case can be made out for this too. The only thing that is clear is that we can't have it both ways. The wise decision will involve a nice balancing of many economic, political, and administrative considerations.

The Sirois Commission was also deeply concerned over the means of financing the unpredictable and widely fluctuating burden of unemployment assistance and they concluded on the basis of our experience in the thirties that the conditional grant was not a satisfactory means. Dr. Cassidy agrees that the conditional grant is not workable as a financial device for transferring large sums from the Dominion to the provinces to equalize disparate financial capacity and that if it is used for

that purpose it will defeat his hopes of using it as an administrative device. He contends, however, that if the Dominion adopts adequate measures to maintain a high level of employment and establishes a broad scheme of social insurance, unemployment assistance becomes a much smaller and less fluctuating charge. Indeed, transfers from the Dominion to the provinces on that account would be relatively small and the conditional grant can be used as an administrative device to encourage uniformity of standards and coverage and the adoption of sound personnel policies. But, it should be noted, the transfers are not likely to be small unless the other financial recommendations of the Sirois Commission, or their equivalent, are adopted.

In fact, it is not clear that Dr. Cassidy and the Sirois Commission are so far apart on the essential issues about conditional grants. Both agree that they are not suitable financial instruments. The Commission admitted they might be useful administrative devices for offering small sums to the provinces to stimulate and guide particular provincial efforts. But the Commission's terms of reference did not ask them to devise a broad plan of social security and therefore it was not for them to advocate a bold programme of federal leadership in this field. Dr. Cassidy frames his own terms of reference and there is no doubt that extensive use of conditional grants is relevant to his plan. There are still grounds for doubting whether conditional grants can be a highly successful administrative device in Dominion-provincial relations and Dr. Cassidy is careful to say that they may not be widely effective for some time after their adoption. But even if they do not bring much good, they are unlikely to do any harm, as long as they are not used as financial instruments for making large transfers to the provinces.

Financial readjustments between the Dominion and the provinces may turn out to be the crux of the social security issue. Even if the broad outlines of his plan were adopted, there would still be, as Dr. Cassidy recognizes, several provinces needing large sums to enable them to carry their share of the programme. Moreover, it is highly unlikely—and probably undesirable—that this programme will be adopted at one fell swoop. The piecemeal approach will mean the indefinite continuance of pretty heavy public welfare and public assistance burdens to be borne by the provinces and municipalities. Extensive financial readjustment is likely to be of great importance and great difficulty.

Whatever the pace of development of social security measures may be and no matter what financial arrangements are made, Dr. Cassidy's strictures on the present organization and administration of the social services must be heeded. He makes it quite clear that without extensive reorganization we are not in a position to make effective use of large expenditures on social security. This reorganization at all three levels of government raises political questions of the first order and not much is likely to be done about it without widespread discussion. *Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada* provides, along with other studies since published, an excellent basis for discussion of objectives as well as ways and means. It is to be hoped that the author will soon put us even more in his debt by giving us the further study, "Public Health and Welfare Organization," promised in the preface to this volume.

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The Canadian Born in the United States: An Analysis of the Statistics of the Canadian Element in the Population of the United States, 1850 to 1930. By LEON E. TRUESDELL. (Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History: J. T. Shotwell, director.) New Haven: Yale University Press; Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 263. (\$4.25)

The American Born in Canada: A Statistical Interpretation. By R. H. COATS and M. C. MACLEAN. (Relations of Canada and the United States.) Toronto: Ryerson Press; New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. xxii, 176. (\$3.75)

IN the series of studies of Canadian-American Relations, three volumes deal with the intermingling of the two peoples. The first came from the pen of the late Professor Marcus Lee Hansen.¹ In it the historian traced the movements of population to and fro across the border from the early days of settlement and painted a picture of two peoples jointly participating in the development of a continent with an almost total disregard of political boundaries and differing citizenship. The present volumes complete the trilogy. They are the work of statisticians and necessarily concentrate on recent times since relevant data are available only from 1850. That by Dr. Truesdell, the Chief Statistician for Population of the Bureau of the Census at Washington, describes the movement of Canadians to the United States and their settlement there as revealed by the decennial census of that country. That by Dr. R. H. Coats and the late M. C. Maclean presents a parallel picture from Canadian sources for the American born in Canada. All three volumes are sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of History and Economics, of which Dr. James T. Shotwell is the director.

Statistical tables occupy most of the space in both of the present works and the method of treatment followed by Dr. Truesdell in studying the Canadian born in the United States is in general very similar to that employed in Mr. Maclean's section on the American born in Canada (Part II), being determined in each case by the cross-classifications made in the respective census compilations. In each volume an introductory chapter gives the basic data as to numbers and geographical distribution at the various census dates. The geographical analysis is not only by states and provinces but by counties and cities where the numbers are significant and available in past census tabulations. The local figures are for the use of those interested in specific localities; they also provide material for more intensive analyses than are attempted in either volume. Subsequent chapters deal with rural-urban distribution, sex, age, conjugal condition, year of immigration, naturalization, literacy, language, occupation, and so on through the various cross-classifications presented by the census. Each chapter contains a textual discussion giving the necessary definitions and explanations and commenting on the more outstanding relations brought out by the figures.

Part I of the volume on the American born in Canada is of a different nature. It is largely textual and analytical. Here Dr. Coats discusses the results of employing certain mathematical techniques in measuring the evenness of spread of settlers from the United States, geographically, occupationally, and in terms of

¹Marcus Lee Hansen and J. B. Brebner, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven, Toronto, 1940), reviewed in C.H.R., XXI, Dec., 1940, 416.

the existing distribution of the resident Canadian population. Causal factors are examined and conclusions drawn concerning the nature and significance of American migration into Canada. This part of the volume also contains a brief digression on the Canadian-born population of the United States which will be of use to persons not having access to Dr. Truesdell's study, and an *addendum* on day-to-day movements across the international border.

To summarize in a few sentences the mass of factual information and interpretative comment in these two works is quite impossible. A few selected findings will serve to demonstrate their character and significance.

Dr. Truesdell finds that the number of Canadian born in the United States in 1930 was almost one-sixth as great as the entire native population in Canada. Of the total Canadian stock, i.e. persons of Canadian birth and Canadian parentage, some 3,337,000 or about 25 per cent are south of the border. Of this number approximately 33 per cent are French. The Canadian born are the third largest immigrant group in the United States, being exceeded only by the Germans and Italians. "More than seven-eighths of the Canadian born returned in the 1930 census were living in the States along the Canadian border, plus Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut in the East, and Oregon and California on the Pacific Coast." On the whole, they are appreciably more urban than the populations of the individual states to which they migrated. Detroit has more Canadian born residents than any other American city (95,000); Boston ranks second, and New York a close third.

"The French-Canadian born in general reported somewhat larger proportions as having arrived in the earlier years than did the English-Canadian born, but this relationship is not by any means uniformly maintained in the individual states. In Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont in particular, the percentages of French-Canadian born reporting arrival in 1900 or earlier were considerably smaller than the corresponding percentages of the English-Canadian born, while in other eastern States they were appreciably larger, and in the Pacific Coast States, much larger."

Unlike other immigrant groups, the English-speaking Canadian born in the United States show an appreciable and increasing excess of females over males; the French show a small and declining surplus of males. The net result is that, as compared with general immigration from European countries, Canadian immigrants as a whole represent more nearly a normal segment of the population from which they came.

English-speaking immigrants of Canadian birth spread more evenly than do the French; they naturalize more rapidly, and a larger proportion tends to take up permanent domicile. More own their homes—more even than in the total population of the United States. The median value of homes occupied by Canadian families is higher than the national average both in the case of urban and rural non-farm dwellings, and rentals paid are on a correspondingly higher level. The median size of family for the English-speaking Canadian immigrant is smaller than the all-American average; that for the French is larger. Next to the Scottish, the English-speaking Canadian born show the lowest proportion illiterate (0.6 per cent) of all immigrant groups; the figure for the French is 9.9 per cent. Occupationally, the English-speaking report a higher percentage in the professions than obtains in the population of the states to which they migrated; French Canadians report a lower percentage. The proportions are reversed for the group designated "Semi-skilled workers in manufacturing." In the sixteen selected states where the Canadian born are largely concentrated, 35.4 per cent of the

French-Canadian workers are factory operatives as against 14.9 per cent for the total population and 11.0 per cent for the English-speaking Canadians.

Turning now to the study of the American born in Canada, we note that Dr. Coats points out that, *in terms of the size of the respective home populations*, the numerical contribution of the United States to Canada has been only about one-fortieth that of Canada to the United States. Nevertheless, the American born constitute the largest single non-British immigrant group in the Dominion. In 1931, they numbered 345,000 or 30.7 per cent of all foreign-born residents. In 1901, the proportion was even higher (45.9 per cent). In contrast with the Canadian born in the United States, the American born in Canada are widely distributed geographically and spread with marked evenness through the population in all sections of the Dominion. Their occupational distribution approaches the all-Canadian pattern more closely than does that of any other immigrant group. That is not to say that the correspondence is exact. The proportions in the owner and manager class (including farm owners) and in the professions are somewhat higher than the Canadian percentages while those in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations are somewhat lower. But the departures are not great. From these several characteristics of American settlement in Canada, the author infers an absence of any single or special incentive of major magnitude behind the migration.

Among the causes contributing to the evenness of spread (and ready assimilability) are long Canadian residence, the changing and diverse factors motivating the movement, the racial heterogeneity of the American-born settlers, the return of American-born French Canadians, and the general similarity of language and customs of the two people. The American born in Canada naturalize more readily than other foreign-born immigrants and intermarry with the Canadian born almost as freely as they do at home with their own people.

Freedom of intercourse is an important influence making for similarity of customs and outlook. In this connection Dr. Coats gives figures on border crossings. In 1931, about 19.5 million Americans entered Canada from the United States and almost 11 million Canadians crossed the border into the United States—a total of over 30 million crossings. The average floating population from the United States in Canada each day, the year round, was 162,000.

In Part II, prepared by Mr. Maclean, additional factual material is presented. It is estimated, for example, that the total American stock (immigrants and their children) in Canada now numbers almost 820,000. Among the American born, males predominate and rural domicile is more prevalent than in the receiving population. In 1931, 69 per cent of the American born spoke English as the mother tongue, 14 per cent spoke French, and 18 per cent other languages. Only one quarter of one per cent, however, were unable to speak either English or French. Over 72 per cent of all American-born persons resident in Canada were naturalized by 1931, a much higher figure than that for Canadian born in the United States. Illiteracy among the American born (1.31 per cent), while higher than that of the British born, is lower than that of any other European stock in Canada. Their religious distribution differs from that of the Canadian population much as does that of the United States population as a whole. In the depression of the early thirties, American-born workers suffered less loss of time than did Canadians, mainly because they tend to be in somewhat more highly specialized work, or in farming. The list of interesting findings could be extended more or less indefinitely, but the above must suffice.

Both books are well written and well illustrated. The graphs are uniformly

good. With the material presented, the reviewer has no quarrel. One would have wished that the statistical analysis could have been pressed further at many points but that task has been left to others. The raw materials are there. For the historian these volumes fill an important gap. For the teacher of American or Canadian history and for research workers in either field, they should prove useful as works of reference.

W. BURTON HURD

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The Royal Power of Dissolution of Parliament in the British Commonwealth. By EUGENE A. FORSEY. With a foreword by Sir JOHN MARRIOTT. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. xx, 316. (\$5.00)

It rarely falls to the lot of an academic author for his volume of research to give rise to widespread journalistic controversy and it is still more rare for a book based on a doctoral dissertation to receive even the most supercilious mention in the press. Dr. Forsey's work, however, has attained this double distinction. It is unnecessary to inquire what personal or partisan factors are involved in this situation; it will suffice to say that the thesis of this book is of a highly controversial nature relating to a constitutional point of considerable importance. To put it briefly, it is Dr. Forsey's contention that there is a very real element of discretion vested in the King (or his representative) with respect to the dissolution of parliament. Similar views have previously been expressed by many constitutional commentators, but never before has the topic been investigated so carefully nor have the authorities been canvassed so thoroughly as here. This conclusion, although running counter to prevalent Canadian opinion, might not have received so much attention had it not been for the extensive analysis made of the "crisis of 1926," to which two of the longest chapters, nearly one half of the text, are devoted.

It is well understood that the Crown's power of dissolving a legislature before the expiration of its maximum legal term is a central and distinguishing feature of the British type of parliamentary government. There is no question, therefore, about the constitutionality of dissolution. The issue at stake is as to the responsibility for its exercise. The first question to which Dr. Forsey addresses himself is this, Does the King (or his Governor) have any discretion by way of refusing a dissolution or is the decision entirely determined by the Crown's responsible ministers?

In attempting to answer this question one immediately runs into the peculiar nature of British constitutionalism. It is evident that the issue is not a legal one that can be solved by appeal to judicial determination as would be done with a similar problem in the American system. Even in Canada, which is often regarded as possessing a written constitution, the legal terminology settles nothing in this respect. Accordingly, our author first seeks the answer in constitutional usage as displayed by precedent. Chapter II, the second longest chapter (60 pages), is devoted to "Precedents of Grant and Refusal of Dissolution," and Appendix A (another 13 pages) lists special dissolutions and refusals not dealt with in the text. The conclusion is that there are some 51 cases of refusal of dissolution and ten cases in which a prior promise of dissolution was refused by the King or his representative (pp. 55-6). For this meticulous investigation constitutional historians are greatly indebted to Dr. Forsey.

There are, however, some difficulties. With one exception, these cited precedents of refusal of dissolution are from overseas. The sole precedent from

Great Britain is the dubious one of 1910, which cannot be regarded as definitive of British usage until acknowledged by British authorities. But quite apart from the doubtful British case, there are some fifty overseas precedents of a governor's refusal of dissolution. Most of these precedents are drawn from the minor legislatures, though seven of them come from the central parliamentary systems of the Dominions. All of them, save the cases in dispute in Canada (1926) and South Africa (1939), are several years before the recognition of Dominion status. Dr. Forsey meets the argument from "colonialism"—(Had not the Judicial Committee in a Canadian prerogative case said "Earlier practice in bad times is of no weight"?)—by urging that ever since the introduction of responsible government the overseas systems have followed British rules. But one may well ask, in order to test the validity of overseas precedents as exemplifying British principles, whether these overseas precedents would be cited in Great Britain as decisive of British usage. The truth seems to be that they are not so cited: they are local guesses or approximations that may determine Dominion or overseas practice but do not in themselves settle the nature of British usage.

Here we come to a serious doubt to which our author has not apparently given adequate attention. It is assumed that the constitutional role of the Crown is uniform throughout the British Commonwealth and that a precedent from one place is authoritative elsewhere. One may question this. Certainly the law relating to the Crown, except as to succession, varies according to the will of the several legislatures. It may be suggested that similar diversity is to be found in constitutional usage. If this is so, it is possible that the King (and consequently his governor) should behave differently in each of the several Dominions. Dr. Forsey has almost admitted this when, in accounting for the numerous overseas dissolutions, he says "The apparent differences in practice are explicable almost entirely in terms of different circumstances" (p. 69). Later, too, he specifically uses this "differentiation" argument in order to repudiate the current nonsense that refusal of dissolution is a reversion to colonial status (p. 245). But he does not seem to realize that this very sound argument also tends to undermine the use of any but Canadian precedents. The possibility that varying types of party system and numerically rigid upper chambers may alter the function of the King and his representatives should make one hesitant in attributing Commonwealth-wide authority to overseas (or even British) precedents.

If there is any merit in precedents, Dr. Forsey has amply demonstrated that overseas governors have exercised a discretionary power of refusing dissolution. Precedents, however, must be tested by their agreement with the principles of the constitution, and it is when these are weighed (in chapters III and IV) that the real point at issue emerges. Our author is not so much concerned with establishing for the King an absolute right of refusing dissolution as with investigating the circumstances under which a prime minister should not ask for dissolution. From the standpoint of parliamentary government this is undoubtedly the most important part of the book, for the primacy of modern premiers threatens to transform the nature of cabinet government, and makes it eminently desirable that the principles of ministerial responsibility be re-examined. The rules which are here suggested deserve the most serious consideration, though one may hesitate to accord all of them the status of constitutional principles. It is unfortunate, however, that the author should have found it necessary to set up the monarch as the guardian of the constitution, for this he does by implying that if the prime

minister asks (unconstitutionally) for a dissolution it is the duty of the King to refuse it. The chief parliamentary function of the head of the state (whether king or president) is to pick a "winner" as prime minister, and if the latter has any difficulty with parliament the former again has to decide whether to grant a dissolution or refuse and try some one else. The considerations governing the decision do not seem to be entirely capable of reduction to rule; they are matters of wisdom and discrimination—but they do not include acting as constitutional censor, that is for parliament or the electorate. It is not necessary to establish the unconstitutionality of the prime minister's advice in order to justify exercise of royal discretion.

A considerable portion of the book is devoted to analysis of the circumstances leading up to the Canadian dissolution of 1926. Dr. Forsey is on sound ground in displaying the "constitutional crisis" as a hoax. There is every reason—both from overseas precedents and British principles—to regard Lord Byng as entitled at that time to refuse a dissolution when Mr. King reported his parliamentary difficulty. The Governor-General thought he could find in Mr. Meighen an alternative prime minister acceptable to parliament. But the constitutionality of the refusal should not blind one to its unwisdom. Lord Byng committed a very serious error of judgment; as events showed, Mr. Meighen was acceptable to neither parliament nor the electorate. Our author will not accept this; the Governor-General was apparently bound to refuse Mr. King's unconstitutional request for dissolution. One would suppose that if a dissolution had been granted this book would have been, like Laski's *The Crisis and the Constitution*, a diatribe against gubernatorial connivance at unconstitutionality. There is no doubt that the request for a dissolution while a motion of censure was pending was in the nature of sharp practice; but even if actually unconstitutional, this was for parliament and the electorate to remedy, not for the Governor-General. It may be regretted that Dr. Forsey's criticism of Mr. King leads him to gloss over Mr. Meighen's responsibility. By accepting office the latter not only encouraged Lord Byng in what proved an inexpedient course, but he assumed—or should have assumed—responsibility for the circumstances of his appointment. The existence of royal discretion does not mean that there is interruption in ministerial responsibility. It seems largely Mr. Meighen's fault that the Governor-General's action became a campaign issue and lowered the prestige of the King's representative. With respect to Mr. Meighen's cabinet, Dr. Forsey provides an admirable defence of the "acting ministers" by a clear exposition of the status of privy councillors and ministers.

Despite its polemical form this volume is an admirable contribution to discussion of parliamentary principles in Canada. Although one may not accept all the author's conclusions, it must be said that he has clarified a number of important points and has raised a vital issue. Every student of constitutional government should ponder the principles he deduces as governing the exercise of dissolution and which are summarized in chapter VIII.

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À travers les Anciens Canadiens de Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé et À travers les Mémoires de Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1943. Pp. 279; 296.

AFTER having searched every nook and cranny of Canadian history for nearly half a century, Pierre-Georges Roy certainly deserved to enjoy the fruits of retire-

ment and take a well-earned rest. For several months, in fact, he has been resting in his own peculiar way—by continuing to work. On the subject of the well-known novel and memoirs of Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé, he has just published two volumes which contain savoury comments on the personages and events of the period. It is local history, without which history would often lack continuity and lose part of its substance.

When, in the evening of life, Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé presented to the public the recollections of his youth, did he often succumb to the seductive temptation of distorting or painting the truth? Was the octogenarian writer inclined to exaggerate or to lie? To this important question Pierre-Georges Roy replies with documentary proof: P.-A. de Gaspé was not a liar and never betrayed the truth, even if he did sometimes permit himself—probably unknowingly—to exaggerate certain details and distort certain facts. The memory of an old man is not always the best guarantee of authenticity of narratives or events. Connoisseurs would like to know these exaggerations and inaccuracies. If they peruse the 575 pages of these two volumes they will not be disappointed. They will learn, for example, that it was not Richard Montgomery who attacked the Beaupré coast with fire and sword in 1759, as P.-A. de Gaspé stated, but Alexander Montgomery, brother of Richard, the leader of the unsuccessful raid on Quebec in 1775. The octogenarian was also mistaken when he said that Richard Montgomery's body was delivered up to his family in 1825.

Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé also said that one day General Prescott met a habitant of Beauport on the St. Charles River ice bridge, drawing a load of wood to Quebec. The worthy habitant, taking him for a poor wayfarer, invited him to ride on top of the load. Thus, according to the octogenarian writer, Prescott entered the town. Pierre-Georges Roy sums up that statement in the following words: "This story is difficult to swallow. General Prescott had too keen a sense of discipline and dignity to enter the town sitting on a load of wood. In accepting this story P.-A. de Gaspé was doubtless the victim of a wag." Mr. Roy also spurns the unjust opinion of P.A. de Gaspé with respect to General Murray.

On page 189 of the volume entitled, *À travers les Mémoires de P.-A. de Gaspé*, the topic "bénifice du clergé" is dealt with. This expression is faulty. It should read "bénifice de clergie," which refers to the well known privilege of freedom from the jurisdiction of secular courts enjoyed by the clergy of the middle ages.

These valuable works would have been enriched if the author had placed at the end of each volume an onomastic index of the numerous personages who pass before our eyes and recall another world and a picturesque era which is gone forever.

SÉRAPHIN MARION

The Public Archives of Canada.

Histoire de Montréal. II. 1760-1942. Par CAMILLE BERTRAND. Montréal: Imprimerie des Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes, 949 rue Côté. 1942. Pp. 307. (\$1.25)

STUDENTS of local history have awaited with great interest the appearance of the second volume of Camille Bertrand's *Histoire de Montréal*. In his first volume (noted C.H.R., XVI, June, 1935, 235), M. Bertrand established claim to a very high place among Montreal's historians. The volume under review completely supports that claim. Here is recounted the history of Montreal from 1760 to 1942. With considerable ingenuity, the author has blended the topical and the chrono-

logical, thereby producing a treatment which has enabled him to deal adequately with the various phases of his subject, and to indicate developments occasioned by the passage of time. M. Bertrand has balanced very adroitly local and national themes. This particular problem is always one of great perplexity for writers of local history, but, in this instance, it has been successfully met. Some chapters in M. Bertrand's book have an interest other than the purely historical. He has wrestled with a number of Montreal's more obstinate problems, economic and sociological. Chapters 8 and 9, "Régime municipal" and "L'Urbanisme civique," contain excellent accounts of the growth of city government, and the difficulties presented by the phenomenal physical growth of Montreal. Chapters 13 and 14 "Enseignement public" and "Institutions éducatives," are excellently done; indeed, it would be hard to name a better study of Montreal's complex educational systems than this. On the other hand, there are some shortcomings. The section entitled, "les églises protestantes" is totally inadequate, and contains a number of errors of fact. To cite only one; David Charbrand Delisle, the Anglican incumbent of Montreal from 1766 to 1794 was not a Swiss, but a native of Anduze in Southern France. Elsewhere there are some slips, but all of a minor character. On the whole, M. Bertrand's *Histoire de Montréal* leaves very little to criticize adversely. The book is well documented and admirably indexed. Of the many histories of Montreal which have appeared in the last two years, this may be regarded as one of the most scholarly and complete.

JOHN IRWIN COOPER

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Sea Lanes in Wartime: The American Experience, 1775-1942. By ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION and JENNIE BARNES POPE. New York: W. W. Norton and Co. Inc. 1942. Pp. 367. (\$3.50)

Sea Lanes in Wartime belongs to a class of books such as Morison's *Maritime History of Massachusetts* or Hutchins's *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy*, most of them reviewed in this periodical, which stem more or less directly from Mahan's classical *Sea Power and History*. In Canada they have their representatives in Professor G. S. Graham's two books and in various other studies in mercantilism. All are concerned with ships, the sea, trade, naval power and the state. Unlike the fountain head, they are the work of people who like the sea but do not follow it. There is therefore about many of them an air of nostalgic romanticism.

The book under review, to use the vernacular, seems to have been constructed in a very good yard and designed with a view of catching the fair winds at present blowing for this type of packet. It does not add anything new by way of general thesis but skilfully unfolds the complexities of international maritime law in wartime, expounds fairly the opposing points of view and provides page after page of interesting details about voyages, fights and prizes, pirates and privateers in the old sailing ship days. The chapters devoted to the present and previous world wars are running sketches of convoy system and submarine war, with interspersed suggestions of possibilities and policies for an American merchant marine. They are not as well done as the earlier portions and add little to what is virtually "common knowledge."

There are many points that could be commented on but I select one on which the authors have scored a good, fair hit. On page 72 in discussing the naval war against the First French Republic, they explain how in 1794 only a great flour

fleet from the United States was standing between France and something like starvation. Instead of taking it off the Norfolk capes, the British allowed it to cross the ocean and when it neared port, the French sent out all their available naval force to convoy it in: this force being attacked by Lord Howe, led that admiral away from the convoy and, though badly smashed itself in the battle of "The Glorious First of June," enabled the convoy to get in safely. In other words, naval battles are not always what they seem to the layman: even inglorious Italian fleets may be serving a pre-determined, logical purpose.

As I read on toward the end of the book, it began to irritate me: eventually I found the reason. There was firstly a tendency to score every possible point off "the British," painting over the American surface at the same time. This crudescence of parochial Yankee-ism annoys and surprises the fair-minded reader. There was secondly a rather smug delight in references to "lush" (the word is used often) profits and other forms of commercial derring-do. I am all for tales of the sea that pay tribute to the brave men who go down to it in ships but attempts to "glamorize" the hard-boiled selfishness of ship-owners, a class of evil fame to sailors throughout the ages, necessarily fail. The merchant marine should either be written about in terms of the unsentimental business that on the owners' side it is, or in human terms; the two do not mix well. Is this delight in smug profits another Puritan survival in those whose home port, they tell us, is Portland, a down-east city where such may possibly linger? It would have pleased me more if Professor Albion, whose *Forests and Sea-Power* was so good, had either stuck to his economic history pure and simple or written a plain, unvarnished tale in human terms. His attempt at combination is not too successful.

A. R. M. LOWER

United College.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. X. The Territory of Michigan, 1805-20. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents. 1942. Pp. xii, 948. (\$2.00)

THIS volume is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the early history of a neighbouring state. Most of the documents have never before been printed, but a number have already appeared in the second volume of the John Askin Papers, edited by M. M. Quaife (reviewed C.H.R., XIII, March, 1932, 63). The order of the papers is chronological—except for the enclosures. Editorial explanation is omitted, but numerous historical references are appended in footnotes. The editorial work is excellent, and there is a good index, but sixteen pages are missing.

That prominence is given to those documents that have a relevancy to administrative problems is to be expected in such a publication. The trials and deficits of the Post Office Department in providing postal services over impassable roads; the normal procedure in the survey and sale of public lands, and the difficulties of establishing title to land, because of the confused mass of titles—French, British, Indian—with indefinite boundaries and extent of claims, are clearly indicated. Included are many documents bearing on Indian affairs, and selected for the light they throw on the general welfare and defence of the Territory, on treaties negotiating the various cessions of Indian lands, on British influence over the Indians, and on the official measures that were taken to counteract that influence.

It is reported that by 1812 Britain was spending £80,000 annually on presents to the Indians, and her agents were circulating freely throughout the Indian

country. In 1814 it was believed that the Indians were far more attached to the British than to the Americans, and that from 1775 to 1819, Britain "kept up an active intercourse with the Indians," in order to keep them prepared for "any contingency which may render their service useful." Other documents assert that Indian hostility to the Americans could be satisfactorily explained on other grounds than British presents or propaganda.

To counteract this British influence, the Indians were to be segregated from all contact with Canada and British agents were to be debarred from Michigan; the Indians were to be given a government annuity in the form of goods and cash; the men were to be instructed by a practical farmer in the art of agriculture and furnished with a few domestic animals; Indian women were to be encouraged to acquire a knowledge of domestic industry, and the girls were to be trained in carding, spinning, weaving, and sewing in a school subsidized by the federal government. Finally in 1809, Jefferson wrote the Indian chiefs warning them against the folly of joining the English in a war against the United States and assuring them of American friendship and protection: "Never will we do an unjust act toward you . . . we wish you to live at peace. . . ."

Other documents illustrate American frontier democracy with its emphasis on individual rights, functioning within a framework of a rule of law. We see the jury system in operation in the midst of Indian menace and rumours of war; we find frontier petitions to Congress, that became the basis of legislation, and democratic efforts designed to improve social conditions by agricultural education and to relieve suffering caused by the War of 1812. Other petitions call for the improvement of public education, and the speedy confirmation of land titles in order to keep the Canadians loyal to the Republic, and all the more urgent since "4/5ths of the inhabitants" were of Canadian descent.

Documents of more general interest to Canadian readers deal with the War of 1812 and the problems it created for Upper Canada. Already in January, 1808, the Secretary of War, writing to Governor Hull of Michigan, said: "Whether we are to have a rupture with Great Britain is not yet decided"; in the event of war much comfort was derived from the fact that the majority of the population in Upper Canada was composed of American settlers who entered the colony in 1792, in answer to Simcoe's invitation to enter and possess the land, who remained loyal to the land of their origin and would "join the Americans in the fight."

The War left bitter memories to poison the relations between the two peoples for years to come. Recriminations are mutual. The British and Canadians are accused of having so "totally forgotten the maxims of humanity that they have no right to expect a rigid observance of them on our part." They destroyed the settlement on the River Raisin and burned Fort Niagara and Buffalo. The Americans captured and were charged with burning Toronto, and the Secretary of War was urged to send bands of Indians, or volunteers from Kentucky, to lay waste the settlements of Upper Canada in order to deprive the British of the productive labour of the settlers and create a desert "which the Canadians would find it difficult to cross." But the scars of war eventually healed; and in due time the migration of people across the international border was resumed, and in such a volume as to alarm patriotic Canadians who feared that the superior attractions of the United States might denude the colony of its population.

NORMAN MACDONALD

McMaster University.

The History of the State of Ohio. Edited by CARL WITTKÉ. I. *The Foundations of Ohio* by BEVERLEY W. BOND, Jr. III. *The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-50* by FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER. Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. 1941. Pp. xx, 507; xiv, 524.

THIS history of a state, which will comprise in all six volumes, was undertaken in connection with Ohio's observance of the 150th anniversary of the organization of the Northwest Territory and the establishment of civil government within its limits under the Ordinance of 1787. Volume II, relating to the frontier period, 1803-25, has already been noticed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (XXIV, March, 1943, 72-3).

The first volume of the history, the work of Professor Beverley Bond, contains more of Canadian interest than succeeding volumes, dealing as it does with the period when France and England were competing for the possession of the Ohio valley. At the close of the War for Independence the disputed territory became the possession of the states and opened the way for expansion of settlement westward. This expansion is dealt with in the latter half of the volume and may be read with profit by all students of Canadian history.

The third volume, written by Professor Weisenburger, covering the period 1825-50, naturally has less of Canadian interest politically but, like volume II, contains a wealth of social history, much of which corresponds to features of Upper Canada's life in the same period. Agriculture, transportation, religion, and education in Ohio all have their parallels in Upper Canada. The political history of this period, Jacksonian democracy, the emergence of the Whig party and increasing anti-slavery sentiment, likewise had repercussions across the border. So, too, did the panic of 1837.

A noticeable feature of all three volumes is the attention that has been given to economic, social, and cultural progress in each period. Art and architecture, religion, newspapers, the theatre and amusements all come under notice, not merely incidental to the political record but receiving their proper emphasis as a part of the life of the people. Mention may also be made of the numerous illustrations and maps which appear in each volume.

Furthermore, the relation of Ohio to both national affairs and to the region of which it is a part has not been lost sight of. The series of volumes is a production creditable both to the separate writers and to the state of Ohio which has financed its publication.

FRED LANDON

The University of Western Ontario.

The Indian Speaks. By MARIUS BARBEAU and GRACE MELVIN. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers; Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1943. Pp. 117. (\$3.00)

The Indian Speaks is the joint product of two Canadian artists, one of whom, the narrator, is also a distinguished anthropologist. The result is a book of artistic merit, taking its inspiration from the buried literature of our native races. Dr. Barbeau is steeped not only in the lore of these peoples, but in their attitude to us, and in this little volume he has chosen to stress the Indians' retrospective love of their vanished past and something too of the bitterness they experience in finding themselves in this alien world. It is seldom that the native finds so sympathetic a protagonist.

In forty brief chapters are presented stories from all the major ethnographic

provinces of Canada, beginning with a tragic legend of the Huron Indians of Lorette, and ending with the charming Haida myth of how Raven stole the moon. The Athapascans, the Piegans, numerous North-west Coast tribes, and the Algonquins of the lower St. Lawrence each make their contribution, and of course there is an Eskimo legend as well. The literary quality, or rather one should say the literary adaptability of the stories, will come as a surprise to many readers, revealing to them the vast storehouse of material that is waiting at hand to be worked up into our language and to become in time part of the Canadian heritage. While seeming to be guided primarily by its aesthetic qualities, the author has nevertheless made the sociological significance of his material one of the criteria for its inclusion.

The result is a work that has more claims to literary than to scientific distinction. As a collection of native legends and stories, told with inimitable skill and artistry, it will take a leading place in Canadian letters. The black-and-white illustrations, done by Miss Melvin of the Vancouver School of Art, are often delightful, but frequently have a disturbing vagueness of purpose. Moreover, following as they do the North-west Coast style of depiction, they fail to portray the mood or spirit of stories from the other ethnographic regions. This is a stereotype which ought not to exist in a work otherwise so well executed.

K. E. KIDD

The Royal Ontario Museum.

Atlas of American History. Edited by JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS and R. V. COLEMAN.

New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. xii, 296. (\$10.00)

Dictionary of American History. Edited by JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS and R. V.

COLEMAN. In six volumes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. (\$60.00)

If one needed convincing proof of the extent and variety of the historical links binding together Canada and the United States one need not go beyond the pages of two recently published works of reference. Take from the *Dictionary of American History* and the *Atlas of American History* only those articles and maps that have a direct and material relationship to the history of Canada and you would have a substantial dictionary and no mean atlas. And much of the remainder has an indirect bearing upon the history of the Dominion, while the works as a whole are indispensable to anyone interested in the history of North America.

The Dictionary and the Atlas are fortunate in having as their editor-in-chief so competent and broad-minded a historian as James Truslow Adams and as managing editor so painstaking and exacting a scholar as R. V. Coleman. In the Advisory Council of the Dictionary one finds such authoritative names as Randolph Adams of the Clements Library in the University of Michigan, Solon J. Buck of the National Archives in Washington, William Starr Myers of Princeton, Theodore Blegen of the University of Minnesota, Allan Nevins of Columbia and Herbert Bolton of the Bancroft Library in the University of California; and in the corresponding Council of the Atlas men and women of such well-rounded culture as the late Louise Phelps Kellogg of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Lawrence Martin of the Division of Maps of the Library of Congress, Julian Boyd of Princeton, John K. Wright of the American Geographical Society, Dan Clark of the University of Oregon, and Milo M. Quaife of the Burton Historical Collection in Detroit.

These are the editorial staff whose responsibility it has been to find the right man to deal with a particular subject, examine with care the material submitted,

and fit it into the framework of the Dictionary or the Atlas. As to the contributors, more than a thousand historians joined in the preparation of 6,425 separate articles in the Dictionary, and sixty-four historians supervised the drawings of 147 maps in the Atlas.

In his Foreword to the Dictionary, James Truslow Adams describes the purposes of the work, how it was planned and prepared, and its ingenious devices designed to enable the reader to make the most of its enormous body of information. He has this to say about the need for such a work:

In the last few decades our history has been almost completely rewritten. New facts have been discovered; new interests have developed. A generation ago historians had done the merest spade work in many departments of our national life. They were still chiefly concerned with political and military events. Today our whole culture is their province, and the public which reads history has widened with the widening of the historian's vision. Moreover a knowledge of history has become essential to an understanding of much in the daily press and in the radio broadcasts, recording the events of our world hour by hour. . . . There has been an increasingly insistent demand for some one source to which an inquirer might go to find, and quickly, what he wishes to know as to specific facts, events, trends or policies in our American past, without searching for hours, perhaps unsuccessfully, through stacks of books, even should he have access to them.

This is the need which the Dictionary is designed to fill. Dr. Adams describes the elaborate system of cross-references by which readers are guided to the particular subject or division of a subject in which they are interested:

Throughout the long and complicated editorial process, emphasis has constantly been placed on the fact that this is a "dictionary" and not a collection of essays or even an encyclopædia. In general, the articles are brief, each dealing with a separate, and definite, aspect of our history. There are, however, a considerable number of "covering articles," each of which not only presents its broader subject in an orderly sequence, but, by cross references, guides the reader to the various supporting or related articles in which the individual phases of the subject are treated in more detail. Thus, if the reader wishes to know only the general succession of events, he does not have to piece them together from scores of separate articles; but if, on the other hand, he wishes information about only one aspect of the subject he will find it, indexed under the name by which it is usually identified.

How this works out in a particular case is illustrated by an example:

Where in one article there may be even a casual reference to a related subject, the reader is referred to that article in case he desires to follow the line of investigation. Thus, on "International Law" the investigator will find a 1500-word covering article by Professor Charles G. Fenwick of Bryn Mawr College. As he reads the article he will find a reference to the "foreign policy" of the United States, from which a "v" will carry him to an article on this subject by Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale University. A few lines farther along there is a reference to "recognition," from which a "v" carries him to an article on the "Policy of Recognition" by Professor George D. Harmon of Lehigh University. Then the reader comes upon such aspects of international law as "neutrality," "belligerent," "contraband" and "blockade," to separate articles on which he is guided by the symbol "v" Similarly, in each of the articles to which the reader is referred he will discover references to yet other related subjects. Thus, without going outside these volumes the student will find an almost inexhaustible mine of collateral material—contributed in each case by a recognized authority.

Each of these works, although complete in itself, also supplements the material in the other. The Atlas through its maps illustrates many of the topics discussed in the Dictionary, while the Dictionary provides the human background of the towns, forts, battle-fields, boundaries, trading posts, and physical features shown on the maps.

Dr. Adams, who also supplies a Foreword for the Atlas, suggests several features that will give it peculiar value to students of North American history.

It was the judgment of the editors [he says] that the need was for maps that would interpret our history through the location of places as they actually existed and exactly

where they existed at a given time. Graphs, diagrams and other nonexact pictorial interpretations were, in general, to be avoided as having no place in this Atlas.

That the maps should proceed chronologically was obvious. That the areas and periods dealt with in each map should be entities was desirable. That each map should gear in with the preceding and succeeding maps was important. The intent was to so arrange the maps that, as the pages turned, the development of the country would become more clear and take on a new meaning and significance.

Not the least important of these special features is a place index, covering some sixty odd pages of the book, and designed to enable any one who is using it to find, easily and quickly, the place he is looking for.

For those who wish to trace a particular subject from period to period, and from area to area, the chronological arrangement of the maps, together with the index, will prove helpful. For example, suppose the reader is interested in following the advance of the frontier: Through the Index, and from map to map, he will see the falling back of the Indians, the establishment of trading posts, the growth of settlements, the formation of territories and the organization of states.

I had the curiosity to check through the 258 pages of the Index to the Dictionary, and marked 450 subjects that are an essential part of or have a more or less direct relationship to Canadian history. One may take the single letter "A" and find such titles as Acadia, Acadians, Alaska Boundary, Annapolis Royal, Astoria, Alabama Claims, Abenaki, Abitibi, Assiniboine, Aix-la-Chapelle, Arctic Expeditions, Jeffery Amherst, Claude Allouez, Roald Amundsen, Benedict Arnold, John Jacob Astor, Ethan Allen. Or under the letter "M": Alexander Mackay, Alexander Mackenzie, Donald MacKenzie, Mackinac, Madawaska, Mandan Indians, Maple Syrup, Joseph Marin, Jacques Marquette, Ennemond Massé, R. J. L. M. McClure, William Lyon McKenzie, Alexander McLeod, René Ménard, Mennonites, Fort Miami, Michilimackinac Company, Micmac Indians, Missouri Fur Company, Mississippi River, Mitchell's map, Mohawk Indians, Montagnais Indians, Montcalm, Fort Montgomery, Richard Montgomery, Montreal, Mormons, James Murray. Or in such a field as early discovery: John Cabot, Sebastian Cabot, Champlain, Etienne Brûlé, Leif Ericsson, Thorfinn Karlsefni, LaSalle, Marquette, Jolliet, Mackenzie, David Thompson, Simon Fraser, John Franklin, Martin Frobisher, Henry Hudson, Robert Campbell, James Cook, George Vancouver.

In the Atlas, maps that are of particular interest to Canadians are those that embrace the frontier country or illustrate campaigns or other direct relationships between the people of the United States and the people of Canada, or deal with early discoveries that are part of both American and Canadian history. These include The Discovery of America, Port Royal, New France, Michilimackinac, Discovery of the Mississippi, La Salle's Exploration, New England-New York-New France Frontier, Acadia and Louisbourg, Lake Region, Lake Erie-Ohio River Portages, Niagara, Forks of the Ohio, French and Indian War, Lake Champlain-Lake George Waterway, Detroit, Pontiac War and British West, Illinois Country, Invasion of Canada, Burgoyne's Invasion, Revolutionary War in the West, Iroquois Frontier, Northeastern Fisheries, Louisiana Purchase and the Trans-Mississippi West, War of 1812, Boundary Treaties and Westward Advance, Canals, Railroads, The Northeast Boundary, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota Territories, The Unorganized Territory and Oregon Country, The Northwest.

It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that there are no faults in these ambitious and comprehensive works of reference. The contributors to and the editors of such works are human, and no matter how carefully their results are checked and rechecked, errors have a way of slipping in. If there are serious faults in the Dictionary and the Atlas, however, I have not been able to find them.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

Ottawa.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

The Commonwealth and the settlement (Round table, no. 132, Sept., 1943, 306-12).

"British Commonwealth security must therefore, by the logic of present-day facts, be based in the future on such integration for the purpose as will assure in peace and war the necessary pooling of resources and the broad base of financial and material provision which is demanded by the magnitude of the task."

ELTON, Lord. *Unintentional empire builders* (Industrial Canada, XLIV (5), Sept., 1943, 77-8). The author points out that the British Empire grew, not through the planning of governments and committees, but primarily because adventurous and enterprising men and women were prepared to take risks.

HASKELL, ARNOLD L. *The Dominions—partnership or rift? The danger stated, and the answer*. London: Adam and Charles Black (Toronto: Macmillan Company). 1943. Pp. 32. (20c.) The author urges "the setting aside of two periods a week throughout the academic year for the study of Empire history and geography." He believes the need for a systematic Empire education is great, and if given, can have great bearing on the future of the world.

STEVENSON, J. A. *Topics of the day: The South African election; Politics in Australia; Polling in New Zealand: The Dominions and imperial policy* (Dalhousie review, XXIII(3), Oct., 1943, 363-74). The trends in the political and imperial thinking of some of the Dominions are discussed.

THOMSON, A. D. *The story of the empire*. (Guidebook series in social studies.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 165. (75c.) A children's history book.

University of Buffalo Studies. Vol. XVII, no. 1. *Patterns of the coming peace: Three lectures delivered on the Fenton Foundation*. By HANS KOHN, ANDRÉ GERAUD (Pertinax), and REGINALD G. TROTTER. Buffalo: The University. Sept., 1943. Pp. 48. Mr. Trotter's article refers to Canada and the British Commonwealth.

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Canadian Institute of International Affairs. *Report on the work of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1942-3*. Toronto: The Institute, 230 Bloor St. West. 1943. Pp. 46.

CARNEGIE, R. K. *The Quebec Conference: A milestone in history* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(3), Sept., 1943, 96-105). An account of the sixth meeting of Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt in September, 1943, in Quebec City; and the conferences which took place between them, Prime Minister King, and the various chiefs of staff and other officials.

HUTCHISON, BRUCE. "The linchpin of peace" (Fortune, XXXVIII(1), July, 1943, 108-13, 160, 162, 165-6, 168). A discussion of Canadian-American co-operation during these years of war, and some thoughts upon its future.

MACKINNON, JAMES A. *Les Relations du Canada avec l'Amérique latine* (L'Action universitaire, X(2), oct., 1943, 6-11). The Minister of Trade and Commerce looks forward to increased trade between Canada and Latin America.

MORTON, W. L. *Canada and the world tomorrow: Opportunity and responsibility*. (Report of the proceedings of the ninth annual study conference of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Hamilton, Ontario, May 22-23, 1943.) Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1943. Pp. 64. (65c.)

PERKINS, DEXTER. *The Monroe Doctrine today* (Yale review, XXX(4), summer, 1941, 686-702).

ROBINSON, JUDITH. *Canada's split personality* (Foreign affairs, XXII(1), Oct., 1943, 70-7). An article which deplores the present-day emphasis on status sought after by "representative Canadians," and suggests a return to a healthier "helpful spirit of international Canadianism."

The University of Manitoba and the University of Minnesota. *The midcontinent and the peace: The interests of western Canada and central northwest United States in the peace settlements*. (A joint preliminary report prepared under the auspices of the University of Manitoba and the University of Minnesota in response to a request from the Premier of the Province of Manitoba and the Governor of the State of Minnesota.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1943. Pp. iv, 43.

VAILLANCOURT, ÉMILE. *Canada's mission in a free world*. Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1943. Pp. [12]. An address to the Kiwanis Club of Ottawa, Friday, May 7, 1943.

III. CANADA AND THE WAR

AUSTIN, A. B. *We landed at dawn: The story of the Dieppe raid*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1943. Pp. vi, 217.

BLACK, RONALD. *Canada's war baby comes of age* (National home monthly, XLIV(10), Oct., 1943, 8-9, 22, 24, 26). Describes the work and development of the National Film Board.

BUCHANAN, D. W. *The National Film Board* (Maritime art, II(3), Feb.-March, 1942, 77-8, 108). Describes the work of the Board.

Canada, Wartime Information Board. *Canada at war* series, nos. 28-30. Ottawa: King's Printer. Sept., Oct., Nov., 1943. Pp. 48 each. Each issue includes a section "Facts and Figures," which gives a summary of Canada's war record. The September issue describes "Canada's Four Years of War" and "Highlights of Four Years of War"; the October issue relates the story of postal services in the war, the Fifth Victory Loan, and September highlights; the November issue features two articles, "Price Control has paid," and "The Farm Way of Life," as well as October highlights.

Canada, Wartime Prices and Trade Board. *Canadian war orders and regulations, 1943: Office consolidation, II, Administrators' orders, nos. A. 539 to A. 794 inclusive, Jan., 1943, to June, 1943*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. 480.

Canadian war orders and regulations, 1943: Office consolidation, II, Board orders nos. 224 to 290 inclusive, January, 1943, to June, 1943. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. 183.

Canadian war orders and regulations, 1943: Office consolidation, II, Fuelwood orders, nos. 60 to 71 inclusive, Jan. 1, 1943, to June 30, 1943. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. 26.

CLOSE, JOHN F. *Rationing in Canada* (Canadian chartered accountant, XLIII(2), Aug., 1943, 95-105). An address before a meeting at Sir George Williams College, Montreal, on February 11, 1943.

KEITH, JANET R. *Mobilization of manpower: A comparison of democratic methods* (Canadian business, XVI(11), Nov., 1943, 66-9, 152, 154). A comparison of American, Australian, British and Canadian methods.

KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Canada's fighting men: An address before the Canadian Club of Toronto, April 19, 1943, on the opening of the fourth victory loan campaign*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. 15.

KNOTT, LEONARD L. *Inside information* (Canadian business, XVI(10), Oct., 1943, 24-7, 134-6, 138). An article about the personnel, activities, and projects of the Wartime Information Board.

McINNIS, EDGAR. *Oxford periodical history of the war*. No. 16. *April to June, 1943*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. 165-256. (25c.)

McKECHNIE, L. M., in collaboration with N. A. FOLLAND and S. P. CROMIE. "Home war": *The R.C.A.F. guards our shores* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(4), Oct., 1943, 150-77). The work of the R.C.A.F. "Home War Establishment," aerial reconnaissance at sea, protection of convoys, hunting down of U-boats, etc.

MUNRO, ROSS. *Red patch in Sicily*. Toronto: The Canadian Press. 1943. Pp. 13. The story of the First Canadian Division in action in Sicily, as taken from dispatches sent by this Canadian Press reporter.

ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Canada's war in the air, 1943*. Montreal: Alvah M. Beatty Publications, 1111 Beaver Hall Hill. 1943. Pp. xii, 100, xvi. The third revised edition of this magnificently illustrated and printed story of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

STRANGE, WILLIAM. *The Royal Canadian navy* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(5), Nov., 1943, 202-37). "The Royal Canadian Navy, as it stands and fights to-day, is worth looking at. The expansion carried on during the past year alone is a notable contribution to our country's history, worthy of record and of study."

IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

Arthur Silver Morton, professor of history and librarian in the University of Saskatchewan, 1914-40. Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan. 1943. Pp. 23. A number of recent addresses of tribute and recognition of Professor Morton's outstanding historical contributions to Canada have been here gathered together.

CHAFE, J. W., assisted by SYBIL SHACK. *Early life in Canada*. (Guidebook series in social sciences.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. vi, 135. A history book for children.

MURRAY, ELSIE M. *A practical method of preserving historical records* (Western Ontario historical notes, I(3), Sept., 1943, 10-12).

RINGUET. *Un Monde était leur empire*. Montréal: Les Éditions Variétés. 1943. Pp. 350. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.

(2) Discovery and Exploration

BALDWIN, LELAND DEWITT. *The story of the Americas: The discovery, settlement, and development of the New World*. New York: Simon and Schuster [Toronto: Musson Book Company]. 1943. Pp. x, 720. (\$5.00)

(3) New France

DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *The sources of the Delisle map of America, 1703* (Mid-America, XXV(4), Oct., 1943, 275-98).

FRÉGAULT, GUY. *Recherche de la Nouvelle-France*. I. *Les conquérants* (Amérique française, II(8), juin, 1943, 17-25). The author defines the years 1713-63 as the period in which the definitive lines of French Canada were laid: emerging from the Thirty Years' War impoverished and unstable, she was put back on her feet by the hard work of her inhabitants in the period of armed peace which these years represented.

JOBIN, J.-ANTOINE. *A new field for French research* (Culture, IV(2), juin, 1943, 250-5). Points out that utility and stimulation are to be found in the investigation of French Canada and gives a brief survey of actual efforts.

MAXINE. *Slowaways: A tale of old French Canada*. Montreal: Éditions Beauchemin. 1943. Pp. 145. (\$1.00) "Voici une très belle histoire destinée aux jeunes de langue anglaise."

R[OY], P.-G. *Ce que devint la garnison de Québec?* (B.R.H., XLIX(6), juin, 1943, 187-9). Discusses the question of where the French garrison went after the capitulation of Quebec, September 17, 1759.

Un Coup de l'Abbé Francheville (B.R.H., XLIX(6), juin, 1943, 161-5). Enquiry into the Abbé Casgrain's account of the reception given an English landing-party in 1690 at the Rivière-Ouelle, discloses that the Abbé was not colouring his historical material.

(4) British North America before 1867

CHALMERS, HARVEY and MONTURE, ETHEL BRANT. *West to the setting sun*. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd. 1943. Pp. xii, 362. (\$3.25) A novel of the American Revolutionary War and its impact on the Mohawk Indians.

FOX, W. SHERWOOD (ed.). *A voice from the fifties* (Queen's quarterly, L(3), autumn, 1943, 247-56). Excerpts from the letters, 1854 to 1861, of William Davies, prominent figure in Canadian business.

HUNTER, ROBERT (1764-1843). *Quebec to Carolina in 1785-6, being the travel diary and observations of Robert Hunter, jr., a young merchant of London*. Edited by LOUIS B. WRIGHT and MARION TINLING. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1943. Pp. x, 393.

JOHNSTON, W. P. *Chief Kwah's revenge* (Beaver, outfit 274, Sept., 1943, 22-3). A story about the great chief Kwah, 1755-1840, told by one of his descendants.

MACMILLAN, MARGARET BURNHAM. *The war governors in the American Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 309. (\$3.50) (Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law of Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, no. 503.)

NUTE, GRACE LEE. *Kennicott in the north* (Beaver, outfit 274, Sept., 1943, 28-32). From the Kennicott collection of manuscripts at Chicago, Dr. Nute has presented some lively accounts of life at Company posts.

PERRAULT, ANTONIO. *Le Conseil spécial, 1838-1841* (Revue du Barreau, III, 1943, 130-44, 213-30, 265-74, 299-307). "Le Conseil spécial, compose d'une vingtaine d'hommes, légiféra dans le sens des intérêts généraux du Bas-Canada. Le reconnaître n'est que juste."

ROBINSON, RALPH. *Retaliation for the treatment of prisoners in the War of 1812* (American historical review, XLIX(1), Oct., 1943, 65-70). The seizing of hostages by both sides was practised, because the policies of Britain and the United States with respect to allegiance were in diametric opposition.

TALMAN, J. J. and MURRAY, ELSIE McLEOD (eds.). *Winter studies and summer rambles in Canada* by ANNA BROWNELL JAMESON. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd. 1943. Pp. xii, 276. (60c.) An abridged edition specially prepared for school use.

VAN DOREN, CARL. *Mutiny in January: The story of a crisis in the Continental Army now for the first time fully told from many hitherto unknown or neglected sources both American and British*. New York: Viking Press [Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1943. Pp. 288. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

(5) The Dominion of Canada

ANGERS, FRANÇOIS ALBERT. *Le Temps est venu pour les Canadiens de mettre le holà!* (Actualités, no. 10.) Montréal: Éditions de l'Action Nationale. 1943. Pp. 28. (10c.)

- D'ARÈS, RICHARD. *Notre question nationale* (Les Carnets vatoriens, VIIIe année, nos. 3 and 4, juillet, 1943, 235-40; oct., 1943, 315-20). A study reprinted from *L'Action Nationale*. The author states: "Ce travail constitue un essai d'exposition méthodique et raisonnée de la question nationale telle qu'elle se pose au Canada français."
- Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences. *Annales de l'Acfas*, 1942 and 1943. Vols. VIII and IX. Montréal: L'Association, 4101 est, rue Sherbrooke. 1942; 1943. Pp. 155; 202. The annual congress of l'Acfas (Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences) was held in 1943 in Sherbrooke, P.Q., October 9-11.
- B., J.-E. *Monseigneur Camille Roy* (Le Canada français, XXI(1), sept., 1943, 7-11). The recent death of Monseigneur Camille Roy, rector of Laval University since 1924, brings to mind his many contributions in as many fields to academic life at Laval and in Canada.
- BARTLETT, VERNON. *Canada: A country of pioneers* (Listener, XXX, no. 755, July 1, 1943, 5-6). An article of praise for Canada's development during this war, particularly in aviation and aviation facilities.
- BOUVIER, ÉMILE. *Centralisation et unité nationale* (Relations, no. 33, sept., 1943, 231-5). Criticizes the Marsh Report because its centralizing tendency will invade the field of provincial rights.
- . *Votre tâche, jeunesse*. (Reconstruction no. 1.) Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Action Nationale. 1943. Pp. 47. (25c.)
- BREWIN, ANDREW. *Next step for the C.C.F.—government or opposition?* (Canadian forum, XXIII, no. 273, Oct., 1943, 150-2). "It is the purpose of this article to suggest that anything short of a determined effort to take over the responsibility of government would be a betrayal of the people of Canada at a historic moment, and might deprive the C.C.F. forever of an opportunity for effective service."
- Canada, Dept. of Labour. *War-time work of the Department of Labour*. (Issued as a supplement to the Labour Gazette, Nov., 1943.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. 31.
- Canada, Dominion of. *Journals of the Senate of Canada, third session of the nineteenth parliament, 6-7 George VI, A.D. 1942-3*. (Vol. LXXXII.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. iv, 245, 20.
- Canada, House of Commons Debates, official report—daily edition. *Index: Fourth session, nineteenth parliament (Jan. 28 to July 24, 1943)*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. 238.
- Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Information Service. *Canada—an introduction to a nation*. Toronto: The Institute. 1943. Pp. 20. A little pamphlet designed to acquaint the stranger to Canada with basic information about the country; this is given under the main topics of Geography, The People, History, The Economy, Social Life, Education, the Press, and the Arts, Government, Canada and the World.
- CORRY, J. H. *Some Canadian cities* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(1), July, 1943, 17). Continues the analysis of the meaning and origin of the names of Canadian cities, which was begun in the June issue.
- CROSS, AUSTIN F. *Lawmakers on parade* (Country guide, Sept., 1943, 32; Oct., 1943). Sketches a number of the parliamentary figures of prominence.
- DAFOE, JOHN W. *Sixty years in journalism*. [Winnipeg: Winnipeg Free Press.] 1943. Pp. 13. The text of the address delivered by Mr. Dafoe on the occasion of a dinner tendered to him by the Winnipeg Press Club to mark the completion of sixty continuous years of newspaper work in Canada, October 16, 1943.

- DELOS, J.-T. *L'Opinion, le gouvernement d'opinion, le gouvernement de foule*. (Cahiers de l'Ecole des Sciences sociales, politiques et économiques de Laval, II(2).) Quebec: Editions du Cap Diamant. 1943. Pp. 35. (15c.)
- FITZGERALD, GERALD F. *The compact theory and the consent of the provinces to amendments* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XIII(4), oct.-déc., 1943, 456-65). Points out that there is no legal basis for the contention that no amendment can be made to the British North America Act without consulting all the provinces and getting the approval of each.
- FLAHERTY, FRANCIS. *The "Canada Foundation" can do a needed job* (Saturday night, vol. 59, Oct. 16, 1943, 24-5). This privately-financed organization grew out of an effort to give R.A.F. personnel in Canada information about this country. Its primary functions, which have expanded beyond the initial *raison d'être*, are: (1) to encourage Canadians in gaining a better knowledge and understanding of their own country and its place in the family of nations; (2) to stimulate an increasing regard for Canada among the peoples of other countries.
- FLENLEY, RALPH. *La Crise du nationalisme moderne* (Relations, no. 34, oct., 1943, 258-60). A consideration of the development of nationalism and its tendencies today; it is pointed out that the Canadian example of federal union of two distinct nationalities can contribute something to the peace settlement.
- GAGNON, CYRILLE. *Monseigneur Camille Roy* (Action catholique, XXXVI, 26 juin, 1943, 4). An outline of his life and his principal works.
- GILLIS, CLARIE. *Letter from home*. Toronto: Canadian Forum Ltd. 1943. Pp. 32. (25c.) A letter from a soldier of 1914-19 to his soldier son now overseas, outlining the C.C.F. vision of Canada as he hopes his son will come back to it.
- HERTEL, FRANÇOIS. *Le Canada français en Amérique* (La nouvelle relève, II(9), sept., 1943, 537-42). The author believes that the post-war world will see three large continental groupings, Europe, the Orient, and the Americas; in the latter he predicts decentralization in North America, and an almost autonomous French nation, the Norway or Finland of North America.
- HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *Where now, Canada?* (Maclean's magazine, LVI(13), July 1, 1943, 7, 28, 36, 38, 50-1).
- International Labour Office. *Social security planning in Canada: The Marsh Report and proposed health insurance legislation*. (Reprinted from *International Labour Review*, XLVII(5), May, 1943.) Montreal: The I.L.O. 1943. Pp. 26. (10c.)
- JAFFARY, STUART K. *Social security: The Beveridge and Marsh reports* (C.J.E.P.S., IX(4), Nov., 1943, 571-92). A consideration and comparison of these reports, with some attention being paid to the report of the National Resources Planning Board in the United States.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The interpretation of the British North America Act* (Cambridge law journal, VIII(2), 1943, 146-60). Reviews the origin, history, and distribution of the legislative powers of both Dominion and provinces in order to appreciate the judicial process in relation to them, and their interpretation. The article concludes with a survey of the treaty-making power.
- KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. *Les Communistes Canadiens* (Relations, no. 33, sept., 1943, 243-5). Denounces the Communists as inhuman and ambitious opportunists.
- LAURENT, EDOUARD. *La vraie formule* (Action catholique, 5 août, 1943, 4). The King-Duplessis debate on the meaning of the federal act will present many future problems.
- LEWIS, DAVID and SCOTT, FRANK. *Make this your Canada: A review of C.C.F. history and policy*. With a foreword by M. J. COLDWELL. Toronto: Central Canada

Publishing Company. 1943. Pp. xii, 224. A statement of C.C.F. principles prepared by the National Secretary and National Chairman.

LOBO, HÉLIO. *O Domínio do Canadá: Ensaio de Interpretação*. Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo: Editora Civilização Brasileira. 1942. Pp. 189. (approx. \$1.00) In Portuguese only. A study made by the Brazilian representative to the International Labor Office in Montreal. The author begins by giving the geographical setting in the first chapter, the historical background in the second, and the economic background in the third and fourth. He goes on to deal with Canadian political institutions in chapter five, and the two racial groups in chapter six. Chapter seven is devoted to external relations, and finally, the intellectual and cultural achievements are touched upon in chapter eight.

MAHEUX, ARTHUR. *Dans un salon* (Le Canada français, XXXI, no. 3, nov., 1943, 211-14). Some comments on a special session of Section I of the Royal Society of Canada held at Laval University, October 31, 1943.

MONTAGNAC, JUSTIN DE. *Le P. Alexis de Barbezieux de l'Ordre des Frères-Mineurs Capucins, 1854-1941*. Montréal: Pointe-aux-Trembles, La Réparation. 1943. Pp. 61.

NOAD, A. S. *Some memories of John Macnaughton* (McGill news, XXV(1), autumn, 1943, 19-21, 56). The late Professor John Macnaughton died on February 5, 1943. He taught at McGill University from 1903-4 and from 1908-1919, becoming Professor of Classics.

NORMANO, J. F. *The spirit of American economics: A study in the history of economic ideas in the United States prior to the great depression*. With a supplement, *The development of Canadian economic ideas*, by A. R. M. LOWER. (Studies in the History of Economic Thought, vol. I.) New York: Committee on the Study of Economic Thought; John Day Co. distributor. 1943. Pp. 255. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

OLLIVIER, MAURICE (comp. and ed.). *British North America Act and amendments (together with other acts and orders in council relating to the constitution of Canada and of its provinces), 1867-1943*. (With prefix containing text of Quebec Resolutions, 1864, and London Resolutions, 1866.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. 359.

REMINGTON, FRANKLIN. *York Factory to London, 1888* (Beaver, outfit 274, Sept., 1943, 18-21). Two young Harvard men cross the Atlantic in one of the old square-riggers of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Review of legislation, 1940 and 1941, North America (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, XXV, May, 1943, 48-93). Includes in the survey the Dominion and provinces, Newfoundland and Bermuda.

RICHARDSON, B. T. *Canada in coming world era* (Canadian business, XVI(11), Nov., 1943, 26-9, 142, 144, 147). Points out that the job ahead is but a continuation of the task of nation-building, and that the post-war thinking of Canadians will be dominated by "the hard excitement of full employment of capacities uncovered in this war."

ROBERTSON, J. K. *Canada's future in test tubes?* (Behind the headlines series, III(8).) Toronto: Canadian Association of Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1943. Pp. 20. (10c.)

ROUSSIN, MARCEL. *Un Brésilien écrit* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XIII(4), oct.-déc., 448-55). *O Domínio do Canadá*, written by the Brazilian, Senhor Hélio Lobo (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), is here reviewed.

SHORE, MAXINE and OBLINGER, M. M. *Knight of the wilderness: The story of Alexander Mackenzie*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1943. Pp. xiv, 253. (\$2.50) A story for older boys and girls.

SIMPSON, J. C. *The late Dr. Grant Fleming (1887-1943)* (McGill news, XXV(1), autumn, 1943, 15-16, 56). A review of the busy and public-spirited life of Dr. Fleming, Chairman of the Department of Public Health and Preventive Medicine at McGill, and president of the Canadian Public Health Association.

La Toile d'araignée du Bloc Popu (Les pamphlets de Valdombre, cinquième série, mai, 1943, 163-9). "C'est triste à dire mais avec toute la meilleure volonté du monde, le critique libre ne trouve rien de sérieux, rien de positif, rien de concret et de clair dans le programme du Bloc Popu."

TOMBS, LAURENCE C. *Factors in Canada's future*. Montreal: City Improvement League and Municipal Service Bureau [the author, 1103 Beaver Hall Hill]. 1943. Pp. 8. A broadcast by a member of the executive council, Province of Quebec, on September 4, 1943. Reprinted in *Canadian unionist*, October, 1943, 120-2.

VERRETTE, ADRIEN. *Monseigneur Camille Roy* (Action catholique, XXXVI, 14 août, 1943, 4). Discusses the relations of M. Camille Roy with the Franco-Americans.

WATSON, J. W. *Urban developments in the Niagara Peninsula* (C.J.E.P.S., IX(4), Nov., 1943, 463-86). The Niagara Peninsula is one of the few districts of Canada able to show a continued native growth, and its problems have arisen with that growth; this study points out the attempts made to work out a series of integrations with each new stage of development, and to create new organizations of settlement and society.

WHITTON, CHARLOTTE. *The dawn of ampler life: Some aids to social security*, with a foreword by JOHN BRACKEN. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd. 1943. Pp. vi, 154. An examination of the Marsh Report and other relevant and comparable United Kingdom and United States proposals for measures of social security, and a comment on their possible adaptability to Canadian needs.

— *Security for Canadians*. (Behind the headlines series, III(6).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1943. Pp. 18. (10c.) A consideration of what social security should mean for Canadians, and possible ways of achieving it.

WILLIAMS, WILLIAM. *Reminiscences of the Bering Sea arbitration* (American journal of international law, XXXVII(4), Oct., 1943, 562-84).

Young Men's Committee, National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s in Canada. *Young Canada confers: The report of the Second National Young Men's Conference of the Y.M.C.A.'s in Canada, Hart House, University of Toronto, April 23, 24, 25, 1943*. (Live and learn books.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 156. (45c.)

V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

American Automobile Association. *Guide to New England, Maritime Provinces, and Quebec: What to see, where to stop*. Washington: The Association. 1943. Pp. 144.

COBB, ANDREW R. *An architect's impressions of Gorsebrook, the old estate of Enos Collins* (Maritime art, III(5), July-Aug., 1943, 144-6). "Of the few remaining early 19th Century houses in Halifax, 'Gorsebrook' has a historic interest almost as old as the City itself, having been acquired by John Moody, a famous merchant, who landed in Halifax with the army of Sir William Howe."

DUGRÉ, ALEXANDRE. *En Acadie ressuscitée* (Relations, no. 34, oct., 1943, 263-5). Urges his compatriots to dare to assert themselves; the Antigonish movement has shown them how to help themselves; let them continue in that path.

MARTELL, J. S. *Halifax during and after the War of 1812* (Dalhousie review, XXIII(3), Oct., 1943, 289-304). A consideration of economic and social conditions in the port.

PATTERSON, GEORGE. *The establishment of the county court in Nova Scotia* (Canadian bar review, XXI(5), May, 1943, 394-406). A paper read to the County Court Judges' Association of Nova Scotia, on April 15, 1942, by His Honour Judge Patterson, a retired County Court judge.

ROBICHAUD, NORBERT. *Le français en Acadie*. (L'œuvre des Tracts, no. 286, avril, 1943.) Montréal: L'Action Paroissiale, 4260, rue de Bordeaux. April, 1943. Pp. 15. (10c.) A history of the French in Acadia from earliest times to the present.

(2) *The Province of Quebec*

Almanach du peuple Beauchemin, 74^e année. Montréal: Éditions Beauchemin. 1943. Pp. 480.

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Les Députés de Montréal (ville et comtés), 1792-1867*. Montréal: Les Éditions des Dix. 1943. Pp. 455. To be reviewed later.

CROSS, AUSTIN. *Quebec: Child of the St. Lawrence* (Canadian business, XVI(11), Nov., 1943, 52-8, 124, 126, 128). A general article about the province.

GARON, J. E. *Historique de la colonisation dans la province de Québec de 1825 à 1940*. Québec. 1940. Pp. 136.

LAURENT, EDOUARD. *Une enquête au pays de l'aluminium*. (Cahiers de l'Ecole des Sciences sociales, politiques, et économiques, II(3).) Québec: Éditions du Cap Diamant. 1943. Pp. 45. (15c.) Sheds light on different aspects of the working-man's life in Arvida, P.Q.

MCQUIRE, B. J. *The Saguenay Valley—and aluminum* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(3), Sept., 1943, 130-47). Describes the development of the Aluminum Company of Canada at Arvida, Quebec; and of the "company" town which has grown up around it, an excellent example of what can happen when town planning is given its real meaning.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Autour de la Colonne Nelson* (B.R.H., XLIX(5), mai, 1943, 136-41). Some notes of historical incidents that have taken place in and around Nelson's monument in Montreal.

MELANÇON, CLAUDE. *The country of tomorrow* (Canadian national magazine, XXIX(11), Nov., 1943, 2-3, 24). "That Quebec Abitibi is one of the best agricultural districts in Canada with actual room for 250 more parishes and for an eventual population of nearly half a million, now seems apparent."

Montreal, Tercentenary Celebrations Committee. *Montreal-Sorel, 1642-1942: Montreal historical guide*. Montreal: Bull Dog Publishing Company, 7215 Casgrain St. 1942. Pp. 44. A small pamphlet brought out in Montreal's tercentenary year.

DE LA MORA, J. SAIZ. *Quebec, ciudad francesa del Canadá* (America, XIX(1), julio, 1943, 53-7).

Notre milieu: La forêt. I. *Le Milieu forestier* par AVILA BÉDARD. II. *L'Administration du domaine forestier* par PIERRE ASSELIN. III. *La forêt québécoise* par L. Z. ROUSSEAU. IV. *La Protection des forêts* par GEORGES MAHEUX. V. *Le Service forestier de la province de Québec* par FERNAND BOUTIN. VI. *L'Exploitation forestière* par E. PORTER. VII. *Sciages et autres produits forestiers* par MARIE-ALBERT BOURGET. VIII. *L'Industrie des pâtes et du papier* par BENOÎT BROUILLETTE (L'Actualité économique, XIX^e année, avril, 1943, 57-83; mai, 135-67; juin-juillet, 201-38, 280-306; août-sept., 309-37; oct., 421-40, 452-512).

POULIN, GONZALVE. *Un Plan de dix ans pour le Québec d'après-guerre* (Culture, IV(3), sept., 1943, 317-27). Advocates socialization, in the form of community co-operation, of the base industries and natural resources of Quebec, city planning, and social and family legislation; only thus can the general welfare of the people be made secure, and the exploitation by the trusts weakened.

TREMBLAY, VICTOR. *Chicoutimien* (B.R.H., XLIX(6), juin, 1943, 172-5). It is decided that the inhabitants of the town of Chicoutimi should be called *Chicoutimien*, not *Chicoutimois*.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BADGLEY, LEONARD (ed.). *Haldimand County records of the 1850's* (Western Ontario historical notes, 1(3), Sept., 1943, 13-17).

BAILEY, MELVILLE. *The history of Dundurn Castle and Sir Allan MacNab*. With original sketches by GEORGE S. BELL. Hamilton: Authority of Board of Park Management. 1943. Pp. 40. (25c.) Includes a sketch of the life and public career of Sir Allan MacNab, a description of the buildings and grounds at Hamilton, Ontario, and notes with regard to the exhibits in the museum.

FURNAS, J. C. *The mine nobody wanted* (Saturday evening post, June 19, 1943, 24-5, 68, 70). The story behind the Steep Rock Lake mine development is given.

HERRON, DONALD. *Roadways and the Executive Council* (Western Ontario historical notes, 1(3), Sept., 1943, 6-8).

LAURISTON, VICTOR. *The early prosperity of Morpeth, Kent County* (Western Ontario historical notes, 1(3), Sept., 1943, 2-5).

MYATT, WILFRID E. (ed.). *The autobiography of Oliver Goldsmith: Published for the first time from the original manuscript of the author of "The Rising Village."* With a foreword by LORNE PIERCE. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 76. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

ROBINSON, J. LEWIS. *Windsor, Ontario: A study in urban geography* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(3), Sept., 1943, 106-21). "Industry in Windsor may be said to have an artificial and political basis for its development, but no one can take away from Windsor its geographical position as a transportation focal point."

La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques, nos. 1 and 2. 1. *La Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario*. 2. *Aperçu sur les origines de Sudbury*. Sudbury: The Society, Collège Sacré-Cœur. 1942; 1943. Pp. 43; 23. This society, formed in March, 1942, has begun its activities by publishing two pamphlets, one on the organization, constitution, etc. of the society, the other on the origins of Sudbury, its home town.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

ACHARD, EUGÈNE. *La grande découverte de l'ouest canadien*. Montréal: Librairie générale canadienne. 1943. Pp. 123. (25c.) A children's history book.

CAMERON, W. BLEASDELL. *Costumes of the Plains Indians* (Beaver, outfit 274, Sept., 1943, 33-7). Points out that their dress bore little resemblance to the feathered finery of today's "tourist" Indians.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

ANDERSON, EVA GREENSLIT. *Chief Seattle*. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1943. Pp. 390. (\$4.00) The city of Seattle, Washington, owes its name to an Indian chief honoured by both the Indian and the white man; this biography covers his life, which extended from the era of the aboriginal until the time when the city of Seattle was expanding into an important American city.

HASTINGS, R. J. *The bulb industry of British Columbia* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(4), Oct., 1943, 178-85). The bulb industry of British Columbia produces over 95 per cent of the bulbs grown in Canada; a young industry when war broke out, it has developed extensively to answer the demands of flower lovers whose needs were formerly met by bulbs from Holland and England.

HOWAY, F. W. *Thompson Coit Elliott, 1862-1943: A tribute* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLIV(3), Sept., 1943, 229-31). Tribute is paid to Mr. Elliott, for his outstanding work as a Pacific Coast historian.

L[AMB], W. K. (ed.). *The diary of Robert Melrose* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VII(2-4), April, 1943, 119-34; July, 199-218; Oct., 283-95). The value of this diary lies greatly in the fact that it is one of the few chronologies known, particularly for the years 1853-7; it also contains a great deal of information about shipping movements around Victoria and Esquimalt in the early days; and sheds much light upon the living and working conditions of the time.

WEEKS, KATHLEEN S. *The Royal Engineers, Columbia detachment—their work in helping to establish British Columbia* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(1), July, 1943, 30-45). This detachment came to Canada when British Columbia ceased to be a domain of the Hudson's Bay Company and became a colony; the Engineers were sent out on Governor Douglas's request to keep order in those unruly days of the gold-rush, and also to develop the resources of the country. The building and improvement of roads, particularly the famous Cariboo waggon road, and the surveying of the territory they had jurisdiction over, were among their contributions to the new colony.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

BAUM, ARTHUR. *Arctic outpost* (Saturday evening post, April 17, 1943, 9-11, 36, 39). An article on Labrador.

CHASE, WILL H. *The sourdough pot*. Kansas City, Missouri: Burton Publishing Company. 1943. Pp. 206. (\$2.00) A story of the Alaska gold rush. To be reviewed later.

FINNIE, RICHARD. *Canol blitz* (Maclean's magazine, LVI(16), Aug. 15, 1943, 12-13, 37, 40-2). Describes the "Canol project," the opening up of an oil field on the Mackenzie River only seventy-five miles south of the Arctic circle, and the building of many hundreds of miles of oil pipe lines from Norman Wells to Whitehouse, to provide fuel for traffic on both the Alaska Highway and Airway.

HOPKINS, OLIVER B. *The "Canol" project: Canada provides oil for the Allies* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(5), Nov., 1943, 238-49). "Born of military necessity and pushed forward against almost insurmountable odds by the teamwork of military and civilian authorities, the Canol Project is to-day ready to produce oil which to-morrow will help fuel the planes, ships and military and naval equipment used in the increasingly important Alaskan theatre of war."

MCDONALD, J. J. *Alexander Malcolm Smith, explorer* (Americana, XXXVII(3), 1943, 502-6). A brief history of the adventurous life of "Sandy" Smith, "Greatest trail-blazer in the north," who has explored more territory in northern Canada and Alaska than any other man.

MANNING, T. H. *Notes on the coastal district of the Eastern Barren Grounds and Melville peninsula from Igloodik to Cape Fullerton* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVI(2), Feb., 1943, 84-105). These notes on the western shore of Hudson Bay, Northwest Territories, were made chiefly from observations taken in 1940 during a boat journey between the island of Igloodik in the north and Cape Fullerton to the south.

Oil for the planes of Alaska (Beaver, outfit 274, Sept., 1943, 4-14). Pictures and accounts of the Canol Project.

RICKARD, T. A. *The Klondike rush* (Canadian mining journal, LXIV(4), April, 1943, 219-27).

SHAW, SAXON. *Pipeline for victory* (Canadian business, XVI(10), Oct., 1943, 32-6, 77). A description of the building of a 550-mile pipeline from Norman Wells to the Whitehorse region, to carry gas and oil for traffic on the Alaska Highway and for planes flying that route.

SHEARWOOD, Mrs. F. P. *By water and the word: A transcription of the diary of the Right Reverend J. A. Newnham, M.A., D.D., LL.D., while plying the waters and ice fields of northern Canada in the diocese of Moosonee.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1943. Pp. xii, 216. (\$2.50)

SOLIS-COHEN, BERTHA. *An American search for the Northwest Passage* (Beaver, outfit 274, Sept., 1943, 24-7). An account of the little known expeditions which set sail from Philadelphia in 1753 and 1754.

WENHAM, R. W. *Out with the river brigades!* (Canadian churchman, LXX(no. 42), Nov. 25, 1943, 672-3, 677). A personal account of an adventurous journey through Northland waters with one of the two last river brigades in the Canadian wilds, in 1940.

(7) Newfoundland

BOWER, R. P. *Conditions in Newfoundland in 1942* (Commercial intelligence journal, nos. 2074-7, Oct. 30, Nov. 6, 13, 20, 1943). The Acting Trade Commissioner makes a general economic survey. "In general it may be assumed that 1943 will show results well above the average for Newfoundland, although definitely less than for the peak year 1942."

— *Control of imports and distribution in Newfoundland* (Commercial intelligence journal, no. 2067, Sept. 11, 1943, 207-12). Presents a summarization of war-time controls in Newfoundland.

— *Newfoundland's nutritional problems* (Commercial intelligence journal, no. 2066, Sept. 4, 1943, 192-5).

The oldest colony (Economist, June 19, 1943, 787). An article on Newfoundland.

SAUNDERS, S. A. and BACK, ELEANOR. *Newfoundland—sentinel of the St. Lawrence.* (Behind the headlines series, III(9).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1943. Pp. 22. (10c.) A study of the island's resources and staple industries, her history and system of government, key strategic position, present international relations, and outlook for the future.

VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

BACKMAN, JULES. *The price control and subsidy program in Canada.* Washington: Brookings Institution. 1943. Pp. 68.

BELL, FREDERICK. *A step towards the economic goal* (Canadian forum, XXXIII, 1943, 111-12). "An outstanding example of the co-operative spirit at work is provided by the group hospitalization plans which have had a phenomenal growth in Canada during the last two or three years."

BUSSIÈRE, EUGÈNE. *La coopération et les minorités françaises du Canada* (Ensemble, IV, 1943, 3-5).

COMSTOCK, ALZADA. *Canadian price control* (Current history, V(25), Sept., 1943, 45-9). "At the present time the two most pressing threats to Canadian price ceilings are the imperfect control of American prices and the continued increases in wage rates."

GRAY, F. W. *Canada and coal* (Queen's quarterly, L(3), autumn, 1943, 223-33).

HOPPER, W. C. *Income and food consumption* (C.J.E.P.S., II(4), Nov., 1943, 487-506). Various studies of the consumption of agricultural products in Canada have shown that the most important factor determining the quantities of protective foods purchased and used is the income of the household.

LAPLANTE, RODOLPHE. *Les Caisses populaires* (Le Canada français, XXI(1), sept., 1943, 36-42). The author points out that it cannot be true that French Canadians are always in debt to others for all new ideas of social and economic progress; the co-operative credit societies springing up all over Quebec since 1900 were the pioneers in North America, and are now firmly united into the "Fédération des Caisses populaires du Québec."

LEBEL, PAUL. *La Pipe-line de Portland à Montréal* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 29^{ème} année, no. 115, sept., 1943, 259-77). The project of building this pipeline from Portland to Montreal was conceived with the object of saving the oil tankers coming from South America and from other parts of the United States a twelve days' trip around the Gaspé Coast and up the St. Lawrence, thus enabling them to make more trips.

Maritime Bureau on Industrial Relations. *Addresses delivered at the Maritime Conference on Industrial Relations, Saint John, June 25, 1943*. Halifax: The Bureau. 1943. Pp. 100 approx. (mimeo.).

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[WHITTON, CHARLOTTE]. *A hundred years a'fella'—some passages from the timber saga of the Ottawa in the century in which the Gillies have been cutting in the valley, 1842-1942*. (Printed for Gillies Brothers, Ltd., Braeside, Ont.) Ottawa: Runge Press. 1943. Pp. xvi, 172. Private distribution only. To be reviewed later.

YOUNG, DAVID MALCOLM. *The unarmed forces: Canadian labour in wartime*. (Behind the headlines series, III(7).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1943. Pp. 30. (10c.) A consideration of the form and extent of the Canadian labour movement, the trade unions in relation to Canada's war programme, wartime strikes and the trade unions, federal and provincial government labour legislation, government wage policy, necessary remedies.

(2) Agriculture

La Corporation des Agronomes de la Province de Québec. *Rapport sur l'exercice 1942*. Montréal: La Corporation des Agronomes. 1943. Pp. 87.

CRONKITE, F. C. *The Judicial Committee and the farm debt problem* (C.J.E.P.S., IX(4), Nov., 1943, 557-64). A consideration of the legal and constitutional aspects of the farm debt problem; the author considers that legal action will not solve the problem, but that it is part of a much larger problem, which only an adjustment of the national economy can help to solve.

L'École des Hautes Études Commerciales. *L'Agriculture*. (Étude préparée avec la collaboration de l'Institut agricole d'Oka.) (*Études sur notre milieu*, collection dirigée par Esdras Minville.) Montréal: Éditions Fides, L'École des Hautes Études commerciales. 1943. Pp. 555. (\$1.50) The second volume in the series, *Études sur notre milieu*. The first, *Notre Milieu: Aperçu général sur la province de Québec*, was published in 1942.

MIGHELL, R. L. *Effects of American-Canadian trade reciprocity on agriculture* (Journal of farm economics, XXIV(4), Nov., 1942, 806-21); discussion by R. H. ALLEN and D. L. MACFARLANE (*ibid.*, 822-5).

PATTON, H. S. *Wartime wheat policy in Canada* (Journal of farm economics, XXIV(4), Nov., 1942, 772-91).

SKEOCH, L. A. *Changes in Canadian wheat policy* (C.J.E.P.S., IX(4), Nov., 1943, 565-9). Three important changes announced in September, 1943, have brought the buying and selling of wheat entirely into the government's hands through the Canadian Wheat Board.

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

BOGOMOLETS, ALEXANDER. *Soviet Ukraine and Ukraine-German nationalists in Canada*. Toronto: National Executive Committee, Ukrainian Canadian Association. [1943.] Pp. 27.

BROWN, MARGARET A. *Extracts from the life of Joseph Brant and history of the Six Nation Indians*. Brantford: Moyer Printing Co. 1941. Pp. 44.

CROSS, AUSTIN F. *What's become of the Japanese?* (Canadian business, XVI(7), July, 1943, 48-51, 94). Discusses the wholesale transfer of the Japanese from the British Columbia coastal regions to inland centres, the policies and methods employed.

DUGRÉ, ALEXANDRE. *Défaites en gros, victoires en détail* (Relations, no. 35, nov., 1943, 283-5). Points out that French-Canadians have let slip several opportunities to expand and consolidate themselves.

LORAM, C. T. and MCILWRAITH, T. F. (eds.). *The North American Indian today*. (University of Toronto-Yale University Seminar Conference, Toronto, September 4-16, 1939.) Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 361. (\$3.15) To be reviewed later.

McKENZIE, N. R. *The Gael fares forth: The romantic story of Waipū and her sister settlements*. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs. 1942. Pp. 320. (15s.) This study gives "some firsthand records of a group of Scots and North Irishmen who . . . migrated to Nova Scotia in 1817 and then after having successfully established themselves there for over thirty years, ventured into the still more undeveloped frontier of New Zealand" (*Journal of Modern History*, XV(2)).

ROME, DAVID. *A year of Jewish activities in Canada* (Jewish post, Sept. 30, 1943, 5, 30-1).

ROSS, AILEEN D. *The cultural effects of population changes in the Eastern Townships* (C.J.E.P.S., IX(4), Nov., 1943, 447-62). Presents the first phase in a study of the effect of invasion on the morale of a community, i.e. the reaction of English Canadians to the increasing influx of French Canadians into districts hitherto largely English.

THOMSON, WATSON. "I accuse." Winnipeg: Contemporary Publishers, 165 Selkirk Ave. 1943. Pp. 32. (15c.) "In 'I Accuse,' Mr. Thomson shows that the problem is not one of refugees alone, but of humanity uprooted and of the part democracies must play in helping to rehabilitate these thousands of homeless men, women, and children. He further explains how they could fit into our way of life and the contribution they could make towards enriching Canada. He discusses the race problem of the English, French, Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian, and other groups that go into making Canada a nation."

VLASSIS, GEORGE D. *The Greeks in Canada*. Ottawa: The author. 1942. Pp. 147.

ZIEMAN, MARGARET A. *What future for Japanese Canadians?* (Saturday night, LIX, Nov. 20, 1943, 6-7). The status of Canada's 15,000 Canadian-born Japanese has been so complicated by reason of their economic competition with white Canadians, that a solution satisfactory to both sides will be difficult to find.

(4) Geography

LANG, A. H. *Glaciers of the Rockies and Selkirks* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVI(2), Feb., 1943, 56-67). Outlines the origin and distribution of the glaciers in these ranges.

(5) Transportation and Communication

DAVIES, R. A. *America's new bridge to Asia* (Asia, XLIII, Sept., 1943, 509-12).

DEXTER, GRANT. *Whose air?* (Maclean's magazine, LVI(13), July 1, 1943, 13, 51-2, 54). Consideration is given Canada's attitude toward questions of air rights and control, in aviation.

LLOYD, TREVOR. *Canada: Mainstreet of the air* (Maclean's magazine, LVI(13), July 1, 1943, 31-4, 45-8). On the maps of tomorrow's air age Canada holds a strategic position that can shape her future as a world power.

ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Assets for an air age* (Maclean's magazine, LVI(13), July 1, 1943, 8-9, 38, 40). A consideration of Canada's assets in aviation after the war.

WALLACE, D. B. *Canada's northern air routes* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(4), Oct., 1943, 186-201). "A new chapter in the never ending story of Canadian transportation is being written by the aeroplane in its sensational development of Northern Canada."

WILSON, J. A. *Northwest passage by air* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVI(3), March, 1943, 106-29). The Canadian section of the Northwest Airway runs from Edmonton to Whitehorse in the Yukon Territory; its extension crosses the Alaska boundary near Snag en route to Fairbanks, Alaska, its present terminus. The article describes briefly the history of the airway and some of the problems encountered during its construction; it was opened to through traffic in September, 1941.

VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

BOYLE, ROLLAND. *Minorité protestante du Québec* (Relations, no. 33, sept., 1943, 228-31). Considers the history of Protestant educational rights in Quebec.

Canada and Newfoundland Education Association (Canadian school journal, XXI(10), Oct., 1943, 337-40, 346). Describes the conference held in Quebec on September 14-16, 1943.

Canadian Association for Adult Education. *Annual meeting, London, Ontario, May 19-22, Director's report*. [Toronto: The Assoc. 1943. Pp. 12.]

COOPER, JOHN IRWIN. *When the high school of Montreal and McGill were one* (McGill news, XXV(1), autumn, 1943, 9-14, 55). From 1853 to 1870 the high school of Montreal was a part of McGill, a "High School Department of McGill College."

CURRIE, A. B. *Education and the post-war period* (Municipal review of Canada, XXXIX(9), Sept., 1943, 13-14).

Education for reconstruction: A report on the Macdonald College conference (Food for thought, IV(2), Oct., 1943, 11-13, 22). A report on the conference held at Macdonald College, September 10-12, 1943, where one hundred and twenty educational organizations were represented, to launch a campaign of "Education for Reconstruction."

HARVEY, D. C. *Dr. Thomas McCulloch and liberal education* (Dalhousie review, XXIII(3), Oct., 1943, 352-62). Dr. McCulloch was the first President of Dalhousie College; his championship of liberal education brought him into much controversy, and the extent of the community's loss by his death in 1843 was not appreciated until long afterwards.

HERRIOT, A. A. *The prairie rural school* (Country guide, Sept., 1943, 44-5). One of Manitoba's senior school inspectors tells of its genesis and evolution in Manitoba, and challenges the public attitude of forgetfulness and neglect.

- JEFFERIS, J. D. *Minor repairs in education* (Dalhousie review, XXIII(3), Oct., 1943, 281-8). The author considers it wise not to expect any basic alteration of the educational structure after the war; but points out some useful minor changes which will patch up the defects of the present system.
- LÉOPOLD, FRÈRE. *Ce Secrétariat permanent d'éducation: L'histoire d'un demi-siècle de manœuvres centralisatrices*. (L'École sociale populaire publication mensuelle, no. 353, juin, 1943.) Montréal: L'Action Paroissiale. 1943. Pp. 32. (15c.)
- McKENZIE, RUTH I. *Canadian newspapers and adult education: A critical survey of newspapers in Canada* (Food for thought, IV(1), Sept., 1943, 6-12).
- MORIN, DOLLARD. *La Question de l'instruction obligatoire dans la province de Québec de 1877 à nos jours* (L'Oeil, III, 15 avril, 1943, 26-7; 15 mai, 10-13; 15 juin, 25-8; 15 juillet, 16-18).
- PERCIVAL, W. P. *The first survey of Canadian education* (Canadian school journal, XXI(9), Sept., 1943, 294-7, 320). The President of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association surveys the report which the Survey Committee of the Association has recently presented.
- REAMAN, G. E. *What price rural education?* (Canadian school journal, XXI(10), Oct., 1943, 328-9).
- SHUGG, O. J. W. "Proof of the pudding" (Food for thought, IV(3), Nov., 1943, 14-17). A survey of the educative and vital influence of the Farm Radio Forums, since their inception four years ago.
- SIMARD, GEORGES. *Une doctrine d'éducation nationale* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XIII(2), avril-juin, 1943, 137-54; juillet-sept., 269-73).
- STEARNS, C. H. *Adult education in an Ontario community* (Food for thought, IV(3), Nov., 1943, 18-19). Adult education organizations in Hamilton, Ontario, have united in a Hamilton Council of Adult Education Agencies; one of the objectives of the Council is to obtain a Community Centre where the cultural needs of the city can be provided for adequately.
- THOMSON, WATSON. *The London Conference* (Food for thought, III(10), June, 1943, 9-11). A consideration of the importance of the annual meeting of the Canadian Association for Adult Education at London, Ontario, in May, 1943.
- VIATTE, AUGUSTE. *L'Éducation internationale des Canadiens-français* (La nouvelle relève, II(9), sept., 1943, 553-7). Suggests changes and developments in the educational system if French Canadians are to develop an international outlook, and to produce young Canadians who, while understanding the milieu in which they live, do not lose sight of the larger world of which it is a part.
- WOODLEY, E. C. *Quebec's education system* (Saturday night, LIX(8), Oct. 30, 1943, 24). The Quebec educational system may appear complicated, but it is found to work and to meet the demands made upon it by two races of different religion, language, and cultural background.

VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

- BÉLANGER, LOUIS-E. *La raison d'être du rit ruthène au Canada* (Le Séminaire, VIII(3), sept., 1943, 230-3). An explanation is offered for the canonical problem offered by the Catholic Ukrainians in Canada having a liturgy and rites differing from those of other Catholics.
- The centenary of the parish of Granby* [P.Q.] (Montreal churchman, XXXI(11), Nov., 1943, 9-13, 24-5). The parish celebrated its centenary during October 3-10, 1943.

DESTREMPÉ, JEAN. *L'Initiative missionnaire de Marie de l'Incarnation* (Les Carnets viatoriens, VIII^e année, no. 1, jan., 1943, 45-53). Marie de l'Incarnation "devient, avec ses compagnes de voyage, la première femme religieuse à partir pour les missions."

GODBOUT, ARCHANGE. *Les Prêtres Resche* (B.R.H., XLIX(6), juin, 1943, 170-2). Some notes on two brothers, Resche by name, who were ordained priests at Quebec in 1720 and 1725.

GUAY, ANDRÉ. *L'Instruction religieuse dans les écoles* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XIII(4), oct.-déc., 1943, 209-22).

HEENEY, BERTAL (ed.). *Leaders of the Canadian Church*. Third series. With a foreword by H. J. CODY. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. xvi, 191. (\$2.50) This book is published to mark the Golden Jubilee of the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada. To be reviewed later.

IX. GENEALOGY

CORRIVEAU, LOUIS DE B. *The three Hébert's* (Canadian review of music and art, II(1), Feb., 1943, 18-20). Describes the uphill struggle for recognition of Louis Philippe Hébert, famous Canadian sculptor (1850-1917), and the work of his two sons, Henri, sculptor, and Adrien, artist.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *A la Fondation de Montréal, toute une famille assiste* (B.R.H., XLIX(6), juin, 1943, 175-7). Some notes on the Godé family, all of whom went with Maisonneuve from Quebec when he set out to establish Montreal.

— *A propos de la rue Basset, à Montréal* (B.R.H., XLIX(6), juin, 1943, 165-9). Some notes on Bénigne Basset and his family, who gave their name to a street in Montreal.

— *Le Mariage Berczy-Panet* (B.R.H., XLIX(5), mai, 1943, 141-2). It is now definitely known that the marriage of Mademoiselle Panet to William Berczy took place in Christ Church, Montreal, September 27, 1819.

MONTIGNY, ARCHANGE. *Le Montigny de Schenectady* (B.R.H., XLIX(5), mai, 1943, 129-35). Enquiry is made as to which Montigny was wounded at Schenectady in 1690.

PERRAULT, J.-ALFRED. *Notes sur Nicolas Perrot* (B.R.H., XLIX(5), mai, 1943, 145-9). Some genealogical facts about Nicolas Perrot, who was born in 1643 in Davry, France, came to Canada in 1660 at the age of seventeen, was married to Madeleine Raclot in 1671, became the father of twelve children, and died at Bécancourt in 1717.

ROY, LÉON. *Bernard Lainé-dit-Laliberté et Anne Dionne-dit-Sanssoucy* (B.R.H., XLIX(5), mai, 1943, 142-5). Some notes on Bernard Lainé-dit-Laliberté, founder of the family Lainé-dit-Laliberté in Canada, and his wife, who were married in April, 1679.

R[oy], P.-G. *Jeremiah McCarthy, seigneur* (B.R.H., XLIX(6), juin, 1943, 179-81). Some notes about Jeremiah McCarthy, who at one time purchased a seignior, Port-Daniel or Deneau, which, however, he did not develop.

— *M. Querdisien Tremais* (B.R.H., XLIX(6), juin, 1943, 177-9). M. Tremais was sent out to New France in the spring of 1759 to look after the accounts of the colony, but Bigot, to conceal his own misuse of funds, put him in charge of ordering supplies for the army.

— *Le Plaidoyer du Sieur Marois devant le jury* (B.R.H., XLIX(5), mai, 1943, 150-7). Following up some notes published in the April issue on François Marois, who stood trial and was hanged for murder in 1829, the text of his speech to the jury is given here.

— *Le Testament de Jean Sebillé* (B.R.H., XLIX(6), juin, 1943, 181-4). Presents the will of Jean Sebillé, made at Larochelle, July 12, 1704.

SNELL, J. F. *Sir William Macdonald and his kin* (Dalhousie review, XXIII(3), Oct., 1943, 317-30). A presentation of the early life and family connections of Sir William,

patron of education to McGill University, from 1870 on, and to other colleges and universities.

X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bulletin bibliographique de la Société des Écrivains canadiens. Année 1942. Montréal: Éditions de la Société des Écrivains canadiens. 1943. Pp. 127.

Canadian periodical index, 1940, 1941, and 1942. (Cumulations of the quarterly indexes published in the *Ontario Library Review*, compiled by the Circulation Department of the University of Toronto Library, under the direction of May L. Newton, M.A.) Toronto: Public Libraries Branch, Ontario Department of Education. 1941; 1942; 1943. Pp. 120; 136; 125.

Canadian periodical index, April-June, 1943 (Ontario library review, XXVII(3), Aug., 1943, 371-402). Prepared by the staff of the Circulation Department of the University of Toronto Library.

NADEAU, GABRIEL. *Chronique franco-américaine* (Culture, IV(2), juin, 1943, 255-67). A bibliography of the writings of Franco-Americans or of other authors, on Franco-American life.

PARENT, RAYMOND. *Etude bibliographique des publications du Bureau international du Travail au Ministère du Travail, Québec.* Québec, P.Q. 1943. Pp. 70.

SUMNER, ELSIE GRAHAM (comp.). *A check list of newspapers published in the County of Oxford, Ontario.* (Western Ontario History Nuggets, no. 2.) London: The University of Western Ontario Library. 1943. Pp. 7 (mimeo.). The list gives in chronological order the names of the newspapers, issues, place of publication, length of publication, editors and publishers. The details are not complete for each entry, but all available have been included. The list provides an outline of the history of the newspaper press in the County of Oxford and also shows where available files may be found today.

See also the bibliographies published in each quarterly issue of the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, and in Culture, each issue.

XI. ART AND LITERATURE

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Côté the wood carver.* (Canadian art series.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. 44. (\$1.00 cloth; 60c. paper.) The latest in the "Canadian Art series" describes the life and work of Jean-Baptiste Côté, wood carver and sculptor, 1834-1907. After many years of figure-head carving for sailing ships, Côté found himself without a job, when steel replaced wooden ships. He turned to carving religious subjects, but unlike his contemporary, Louis Jobin (1845-1928), never succeeded in making it a remunerative career, nor even in gaining much recognition during his life-time, as did Henri Julien, another artist from his neighbourhood and his junior, who won popularity and admiration with less talent and fewer outstanding works of art to his credit.

Traditional arts of Quebec (Technique, XVIII, 1943, 304-10).

BÉRIAU, OSCAR A. *Home weaving in Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVII(1), July, 1943, 18-29). Describes and illustrates what is being done for the revival of home crafts in Canada.

The revival of crafts in Quebec (Maritime art, III(4), April-May, 1943, 101-3). The Director General of Handicrafts for the province of Quebec describes the success which the Provincial School of Handicrafts, opened in July, 1930, has enjoyed.

BIELER, ANDRÉ. *On the Canadian Group of painters* (Maritime art, II(4), April-May, 1942, 118-23, 136). A discussion of the emotional content of a picture, and the technical means employed to express it by the Canadian Group.

BROWN, E. K. *On Canadian poetry.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. x, 157. (\$2.25) To be reviewed later.

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Education Statistics Branch. *Libraries in Canada, 1940-42* (Being Part III of the biennial survey of education in Canada, 1940-42). Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. 36. (35c.)

- Canadian review of music and art.* Toronto: Canadian Review Publishing Company; Managing editor, L. deB. Corriveau, Suite 306, 19 Richmond St. West. (25c. a copy) Volume I, number 1, of this new monthly was published in February, 1942. The purpose of this journal is defined to be to show Canadians the need for the arts in everyday life. "We are prepared, with a little help, to interpret the work of the artist to the public. We are prepared to suggest plans to the government, and we are prepared to go out into the waste places, to discover and encourage those who struggle with little encouragement to bring enrichment to Canadian life."
- COCHRANE, H. G. *A practical plan to build better people* (Canadian business, XVI(10), Oct., 1943, 58-60, 126). Describes the revival of handicrafts, particularly with a view to entertainment and education for convalescent men in uniform, occupational therapy, and perhaps a future additional source of income.
- COLGATE, WILLIAM. *Jacobine Jones, sculptor* (Maritime art, III(3), Feb.-March, 1943, 74-7). Miss Jones is one of the few sculptors in Canada who have devoted themselves mainly to animal modelling.
- [CORRIVEAU, L. DE B.] *A Canadian ministry of cultural affairs* (Canadian review of music and art, II(1), Feb., 1943, 6-7, 24). A plea for the formation of such a department of the federal government, and a discussion of the way it could function and the benefits it would bestow upon Canada as a whole. A French translation appears in the Aug.-Sept., 1943 number.
- The economic importance of handicrafts* (Canadian review of music and art, II(7 and 8), Aug.-Sept., 1943, 13-18). The first of a series of articles on the place of handicrafts in the national economy.
- EDGAR, PELHAM. *Sir Charles G. D. Roberts and his time* (University of Toronto quarterly, XIII(1), Oct., 1943, 117-26). A consideration of the life and work of the Canadian poet, as presented in the recent biography of him by E. M. Pomeroy.
- FENWICK, KATHLEEN M. *The National Gallery's travelling exhibitions, 1942-3* (Maritime art, III(1), Oct.-Nov., 1942, 12-15, 31-2). Brief reviews and a short description of the contents of each exhibition are given.
- FONTAINE, HENRI. *En marge de l'œuvre critique de Mgr Roy* (Culture, IV(3), sept., 1943, 393-8).
- GAUVREAU, JEAN-MARIE. *Clarence A. Gagnon, 1881-1942* (L'Action universitaire, IX(10), juin, 1943, 5-9). A tribute to this well-known Canadian artist.
- Clarence Gagnon, 1881-1942* (Technique, XVIII, 1943, 435-42).
- GIBBON, J. MURRAY. *Canada's million and more needlecraft workers* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVI(3), March, 1943, 144-55). "The craft is bound up with the history of Canada, and to-day is practised by some three million Canadians, of whom over a million do their work by hand without the use of a sewing machine."
- Canadian handicraft old and new* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVI(3), March, 1943, 130-43). A brief history of various crafts which are being revived today, needlework, wood carving, pottery, weaving.
- HAYES, BARTLETT H. *Artists in wonderland: A commentary on temporary painting in Canada* (Maritime art, III(2), Dec.-Jan., 1942-3, 37-43). Discusses the exhibition, "Contemporary Painting in Canada," held by the Addison Gallery of American Art at Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, September 28 to November 8, 1942.
- HUDSON, EDITH A. *The saga of an art collector* (Maritime art, III(3), Feb.-March, 1943, 71-3, 92). The work of Mrs. Clarence Webster and her contributions to the New Brunswick Museum in Saint John are described.
- HUNTER, E. R. *Arthur Lismer* (Maritime art, III(5), July-Aug., 1943, 137-41, 168). "Of all the original members of the Group of Seven, it is not unlikely that Arthur Lismer will be remembered as the most typical."

- HUNTER, E. R. *Thoreau MacDonald* (Maritime art, II(2), Dec., 1941, 45-9). An article describing Mr. MacDonald's work in the graphic arts.
- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *The Indian in literature* (Queen's quarterly, L(2), summer, 1943, 155-63). The present-day popular concept of the North American Indian passed through eight stages which were based partly on fact, partly on fallacies.
- MANNY, LOUISE. *William Murray, Miramichi builder* (Maritime art, II(4), April-May, 1942, 124-7, 139-40). William Murray's design and ornament upon the houses and churches and public buildings he built show him to have been an artist and master craftsman.
- MARION, SÉRAPHIN. *Le Roman et le Canada français du XIXe siècle* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XIII(3 and 4), juillet-sept., 1943, 274-88; oct.-déc., 1943, 417-30). Discusses some of the French-Canadian novels written in the nineteenth century and the obstacles and prejudices which faced their authors in marketing them.
- MICHAEL, Sister MARIE. *The objectives of a handicraft movement* (Maritime art, II(5), July, 1942, 150-3).
- MURPHY, ROWLEY. *An artist with the Royal Canadian Navy* (Maritime art, III(2), Dec.-Jan., 1942-3, 44-7, 65-6).
- PICKFORD, A. E. *Indian art in the modern world* (Maritime art, III(3), Feb.-March, 1943, 78-81). Describes the fostering of Indian arts and crafts on the Pacific coast by the British Columbia Society for the Furtherance of Indian Arts and Crafts, founded in 1940, in collaboration with the Indian schools.
- PIERCE, LORNE. *Marjorie Pickthall: A memorial address given at Victoria University, Toronto, April 7, 1943, in commemoration of the twenty-first anniversary of the poet's death*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. iv, 19.
- POMEROY, E. M. *Sir Charles G. D. Roberts: A biography*. With an introduction by LORNE PIERCE. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. xxvi, 371. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- ROYER, FRANCE. *Contes de nos villages* (Amérique française, III, no. 16, sept., 1943, 22-5). "Voici quelques faits, peurs et contes pour rire que j'ai recueillis dernièrement aux environs de Montréal."
- SCOTT, DUNCAN CAMPBELL. *Clarence A. Gagnon: Recollection and record* (Maritime art, III(1), Oct.-Nov., 1942, 5-9). Some comments and recollections by a friend of the well-known painter.
- SMITH, A. J. M. (ed.). *The book of Canadian poetry: A critical and historical anthology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company Ltd. 1943. Pp. xviii, 452. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- STEVENS, FRANK. *The art of F. S. Coburn, R.C.A.* (Canadian review of music and art, II(1), Feb., 1943, 10-11). "His perception of tonal values and sense of balance and composition make his canvasses authentic and decorative records of a passing phase of Canadian life."
- *The art of J. W. Morrice, R.C.A. (1865-1924)* (Canadian review of music and art, II(7 and 8), Aug.-Sept., 1943, 224). A slight sketch of the artist's career.
- TAYLOR, FREDERICK B. *Painting Canada's war industry* (Maritime art, III(5), July-Aug., 1943, 142-3, 169).
- VOADEN, HERMAN. *Elizabeth Wyn Wood* (Maritime art, II(5), July, 1942, 145-9). Discusses the work of this Canadian sculptor.
- WATSON, WILLIAM R. *The art of Maurice Cullen, R.C.A., 1866-1934* (Canadian review of music and art, I(9), Jan., 1943, 8-10). "The evolution of Cullen's art has three main periods. His painting in France and North Africa, his civic period—when he painted around Montreal... and his Laurentian period (1910-1932), during which he reached his zenith."

NOTES AND COMMENTS

FREDERIC WILLIAM HOWAY
(1867-1943)

The sudden death of His Honour Judge Howay of New Westminster, B.C., is a distinct loss to Canadian historical scholarship. Past president of the Royal Society of Canada and of the Canadian Historical Association, chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, Judge Howay was the leading historian of British Columbia. An Ontarian by birth, he had come to British Columbia in his early childhood and was for over seventy years associated with the life of the Pacific province. He grew up with New Westminster, his boyhood home, and only left it to journey to the east coast to study law at Dalhousie. Among his early friends in New Westminster was a certain tall, good-looking boy, Dick McBride, afterwards Sir Richard McBride, the youngest premier who ever guided the destinies of the province of British Columbia.

Having completed his training in Nova Scotia, F. W. Howay returned to New Westminster and began to practise law. He soon took as partner his lifelong friend, Robie L. Reid. In 1907 Howay was appointed judge of the county court of New Westminster, and served until his retirement in 1937. To both Howay and Reid "law was their vocation but history was their avocation." It is difficult to tell when Judge Howay first became interested in the history of British Columbia. New Westminster was full of memories of Royal Engineers, "May queens," and Cariboo. Howay's marriage to Miss Sarah Louise Ladner, daughter of William H. Ladner of Ladner's Landing (now Ladner, B.C.), was another link with the early days. W. H. Ladner after the great days of Cariboo had taken up land near the mouth of the Fraser and from him, as from many others who had joined in the gold rush to Williams Creek, Howay learned much.

For over thirty-five years Judge Howay devoted himself to the cause of preserving and interpreting the records of British Columbian history. One of his first literary efforts seems to have been in connection with the Simon Fraser centenary in 1908. He also interested himself in "Ned McGowan's War," that comic opera incident of California "badmen" in Fraser River in 1859. His first important publication, *The Royal Engineers in British Columbia*, was prompted by his friend Sir Richard McBride and published by the government of British Columbia in 1910. Shortly before his death the judge compiled a list of his writings. There were over one hundred items. A future issue of the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* will contain a full bibliography of the judge's works.

In 1913 in collaboration with E. O. S. Scholefield, then provincial librarian and archivist, Judge Howay produced the first two volumes of *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present*—the most complete history of British Columbia yet published. Fourteen years later, in 1928, Howay's *British Columbia: The Making of a Province* appeared with its pathetic dedication—"To the memory of Undine"—the Howays' only child had died suddenly in Paris a few months before.

Probably the judge's greatest contribution was his study of the maritime fur trade on the north-west Pacific coast from 1785 to 1830. He gathered materials from Massachusetts and Hawaii and from even farther afield. The fruit of his labours is to be found in the series of papers presented to Section II of the Royal Society of Canada during the early 1930's. In them are listed all the known fur-trading ships which visited the Pacific coast. Howay's wide researches brought

him recognition. He became a life member of the Hawaiian Historical Society, a corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a life member and first president of the British Columbia Historical Association. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and of the Royal Historical Society. In 1923-4 he was president of Section II of the Royal Society of Canada and in 1941-2 president of the society. The University of British Columbia conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of laws in 1933.

But Judge Howay the lawyer and Judge Howay the scholar should not obscure Judge Howay the man. It was typical of him that he was always "Judge Howay." His many kindnesses to younger historians will not be forgotten. He set high standards for himself and others and would not tolerate shoddy work. He brought to his historical studies the acumen of a legally-trained mind. But he was never too busy to help a fellow worker in the historical field.

And now he is gone, but he will live on in the memories of his friends as the pioneer historian of British Columbia, a tireless worker in a local field who became a national figure in Canada.

[W. N. SAGE]

DUNCAN McARTHUR
(1885-1943)

On May 28, 1942, the Great Hall in Hart House at the University of Toronto presented a scene which will be long remembered by friends of the late Duncan McArthur who were there present. It was the occasion of the annual banquet of the Royal Society of Canada and among the officers and distinguished guests as they moved from the head table was the short, familiar figure, now whitehaired and whitefaced after a long and critical illness, but smiling with characteristic geniality. Friends—many of whom had seen little of him since as Deputy Minister and later as Minister of the Crown he had become a power in his native province—pressed forward to express pleasure at his recovery, and to greet him and the wife to whom he owed so much through months of illness. He had returned from the valley of the shadow, but a toll had been paid. The grip of the hand was still true, but it lacked the steady power—the well-remembered twinkle in the eye sprang up again, but it lacked the compelling magnetism—of an earlier day. Then, little more than a year later, came the announcement: "London, Ont., July 20.—Hon. Duncan McArthur, Ontario Minister of Education, died to-day of a heart attack at his summer home at Grand Bend on Lake Huron."

Duncan McArthur was born at Dutton, Elgin County, Ontario, on March 17, 1885. His parents were Canadian farmers, his grandparents pioneers of about one hundred years ago from the western Highlands of Scotland. He received his primary and secondary education in the schools of Dutton, and proceeded thence to Queen's University, Kingston, graduating in 1907 with the B.A. degree, and with gold medals in history, philosophy, and political science. He obtained his M.A. in 1908, and in later years received the honorary LL.D. from Queen's, Western, Toronto, and McMaster. From 1907 to 1912 he was on the staff of the Public Archives of Canada; 1912-15 at Osgoode Hall, Toronto; 1915, called to the Bar; 1915-17, practised law in Toronto; 1917-22, in financial work in London, Ontario; 1922-34, at his alma mater as Professor of History; 1934-40, Deputy Minister of Education of Ontario; and in 1940 succeeded Dr. J. L. Simpson as Minister of Education.

With McArthur has passed one of the makers of the "New History" in Canada. At Queen's he came under the influence of Adam Shortt, and he has been probably

the greatest of Shortt's disciples in that field. From Shortt he learned the practical application to Canada of the "economic interpretation of history"; his chapters on finance and economics in Shortt and Doughty's *Canada and Its Provinces* will remain models of their kind for years to come. He, with Brymner, Doughty, and Shortt, was a pioneer in making known to the Canadian public the riches of Canada's Archives. He succeeded Shortt as co-editor with Dr. A. G. Doughty of that remarkable series of source-materials, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*. Nevertheless, important as was his work as writer and editor, it is probable that the influence of his personality on his students at Queen's University and in the courses which he conducted for several years in the Public Archives, was more important.

It may long be debated whether his transfer from academic to political life was a loss or a gain. It may be debated whether the radical reforms in education which he was pressing forward would have been for better or for worse. But the transfer was inevitable, for, fundamentally, McArthur was not the pure scholar. His primary interest was in the great forces, the pressing problems, of Canadian political and social life today; and his primary interest in history was because of the light it threw on the genesis and development of those forces. His ambition—for he was ambitious—had ever been

To mould a mighty state's decrees
And shape the whisper of a throne.

To his last task he brought an extraordinary combination of personality, training, experience, and scholarship. It was an ironic trick that fate played him: she filled the cup with the draught he had asked for, raised it to his lips, and then dashed it to the ground.

[JAMES F. KENNEY]

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE WAR

A recent address, "Freedom and the Liberal Arts," by Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, contains a striking defence of the liberal arts and the social sciences as essential elements in war-time education. This and other bits of recent evidence seem to indicate that the fallacious arguments condemning these subjects as unnecessary luxuries are on the decline. The point is one of no small significance, and especially at the present time as we enter the fifth, and perhaps the most onerous, year of the war. The position of the liberal arts in Canadian universities during the past four years is, we believe, worthy of note. The Canadian government has recognized their value, and its policy in this respect has received, so far as we can judge, a very widespread public support. The universities have responded to the trust imposed on them by making very great contributions to the immediate demands of the war while at the same time endeavouring to maintain their academic work. The record is a creditable one to all concerned.

We do not wish, however, to imply by these remarks any sense of complacent satisfaction. Scholarship everywhere is under heavy pressure. It has been suspended in most of Europe, and one wonders sometimes if it has not been destroyed almost beyond repair. In North America it survives, with difficulty, and needs every encouragement to maintain itself against adverse influences. One of the most important means of encouragement is found in the annual meetings of the Canadian Historical Association and other similar societies which bring together members from all parts of the country and provide an opportunity for serious discussion. We believe that there is now no question of the value of these meetings.

They have proven themselves indispensable. In this connection we should like to make note of the influence of Professor A. R. M. Lower as president of the Canadian Historical Association last year. Professor Lower raised by correspondence with a number of interested people the question of the desirability of these meetings and found unanimous support for his own view, that they should by all means be continued. We have seen his file of letters in this connection, and cannot do better than conclude this note by quoting from one of them, which records the decision of the Council of the Association to hold the meeting of May last:

"Our feeling was that our societies are semi-public bodies, that many of our members are either in Government service regularly during the war or serve government from time to time and that almost all directly or indirectly contribute to the war effort. We felt that these annual meetings are helpful, if not essential, to our members, at no time more so than during the war when there are so many new problems to be discussed and so many old ones to be re-examined. Further, it seemed to us that continuance of such meetings was necessary if the values of our civilization, for which we fight, are to be maintained. That is, during the short run, it seemed to be our duty to stand for a certain point of view and expound certain doctrines central to our western way of life and during the long run to do our best to stand as guardians of the future by keeping alight the flame of culture and scholarship. It was not our view that the war is likely to be a short, intensive effort for which everything not necessary in the narrow sense can be sacrificed, but rather a very long hard pull, in which it will be essential to carry along with us to the best of our abilities the aims and ideals for which it is in reality being fought. We felt that there was real danger of the country relapsing into a kind of barbarism, or at least Philistinism, if we were not on our guard, from which it would be hard to rescue it."

Mr. Wilfrid Jury of the Archaeological Museum, University of Western Ontario, reports his recent excavations of the Moravian village of Fairfield, Kent County. The village was founded in 1792 by Moravian missionaries and their Indian followers and was burned by the Americans in October, 1813. Preliminary work was done in the spring of 1942 when the foundations of a row of houses were located. The foundation stones of the doorways faced south, thus it was concluded that this was the north side of the street as recorded in the map made by Patrick McNiff in 1793. The position of windows and fireplaces was established, and interesting relics and artifacts were found.

In September of this year more extensive work was carried on and the south row of houses discovered. The homes of the white men had small cellars under the floors, some of which proved extremely rich in relics; pieces of china, pottery, crane hooks, tin cups, hasps, scissors, knives, etc. being found. The homes of the Indians had no fireplaces but merely fire pits in the middle of the floors. The school-house was located, and from this the position and the identity of the houses were ascertained by consultation with McNiff's map, sketches made by Robert B. McAfee, an American officer present at the destruction of the village, and the diary of David Zeisberger. The school-house itself proved of interest as it would appear that trades and handicrafts were a part of the curriculum from the finding of needles, plane blades, knives, cut and decorated sheet metal, and an anvil base.

Twenty-seven house sites including the school were found 560 feet south-east of Hatfield Cemetery, which coincides with the description of the location of the village as given in contemporary records. A detailed report will be brought out shortly.

PERSONAL ITEMS

The following personal items have come to our attention. We shall be glad to receive additional items at any time.

Professor A. S. Morton's service as head of the department of history and librarian in the University of Saskatchewan, 1914-40, has been recognized by the university through the publication of a booklet which contains information with regard to Professor Morton's career and also a list of his publications.

Professor F. H. Soward of the University of British Columbia is now with the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa. Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby has been appointed a lecturer in history.

Professor Eric Harrison of Queen's University has joined the Historical Section of the General Staff of the Canadian Army. Miss Anna Wright, Ph.D., has been appointed instructor and F. W. Gibson, B.A., has been re-appointed instructor. The history courses in the Queen's summer school this year were taught by Dr. W. G. Bassett of Upper Canada College, and F. W. Gibson.

Mr. Kenneth Setton, A.B. (Boston), M.A. and Ph.D. (Columbia) has been appointed associate professor of history in the University of Manitoba. Mr. Setton is author of *The Christian Attitude towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century* (Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, 1941).

Dean George Smith of the University of Alberta is absent on leave, as is also Lewis G. Thomas, lecturer in the department of history, who is serving with the Royal Canadian Navy.

Gordon O. Rothney, B.A. (Bishop's), M.A., Ph.D. (London), lecturer in Sir George Williams College, Montreal, was last spring appointed assistant professor in the Social Sciences Division, and is responsible for the teaching of history.

The following are responsible for the teaching of history in the various faculties of Laval University for 1943-4: Archivist, the Abbé A. Maheux, assistant, the Abbé H. Provost; Faculty of Arts, History of Canada, professor, the Abbé A. Maheux, assistants, the Abbé G. E. Demers, the Abbé H. Provost, Modern History, the Abbé G. E. Demers, M. Baillargeon, Medical History, Emile Audet; Faculty of Letters, History of Canada, professor, the Abbé Albert Tessier; Faculty of Divinity, Ecclesiastical History, Georges Savard; Department of Social Sciences, Modern History, Georges Savard, History of Economics, Paul Lebel; Faculty of Civil Law, History of Law, Leo Pelland; Faculty of Medicine, History of Medicine, Dr. Sylvio Leblond, Faculty of Philosophy, History of Philosophy, E. Gaudron, P. M. Gaudreau, J. M. Parent, E. Babin, A. Viatte; Faculty of Canon Law, History of Canon Law, P. Raymond, M. Charland; School of Music, History of Music, Henri Vallières.

James A. Gibson, Ph.D., and James McQueen, M.A., are teaching the courses in history in Carleton College, Ottawa. An Institute of Public Administration has also this year been established in which a course is being given on World Organization by Professor R. A. MacKay of Dalhousie University, who is this year on leave with the Department of External Affairs.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

Canada 1943: Official Handbook of Present Conditions and Recent Progress. This indispensable and attractive annual publication contains as usual a selection of statistical and illustrative material as well as a number of articles on special subjects. A file of these year books would be a permanently useful item in any school library.

Professor R. G. Trotter has contributed one in a series of three lectures published recently in the University of Buffalo Studies under the title *Patterns of the Coming Peace*. Professor Trotter's lecture deals with Canada and the British Commonwealth in relation to the present and future international situation.

Canada: Member of the British Commonwealth and Good Neighbor of the United States by Frederick George Marcham (Cornell University curriculum series in world history, no. 1, Ithaca, 1943, 78 pp., 40c.), is an attempt to provide suggestions for teaching Canadian history in high schools of the United States. It contains a fifty-page sketch of Canadian history, a bibliography, and suggestions for study. Some items might be added to the bibliography, and the historical sketch might be made less political in its emphasis, but on the whole this is a most commendable effort to meet a rising interest in Canadian history which we hope will continue to increase in the schools of the United States.

The Historical Association (address University College, Exeter, Devon) has published as its pamphlets 125 and 126 "A Short List of Books on National Socialism" by Norman H. Baynes and "Ideas on the Shape, Size, and Movements of the Earth" by E. G. R. Taylor. The latter is an interesting description of ideas which have prevailed at various times in the last two thousand years.

Pamphlets on Current Events. A great deal of excellent information and discussion on contemporary and historical problems continues to appear in pamphlet form. Recent pamphlets in the "Behind the Headlines" series published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education and Canadian Institute of International Affairs include: *Canada's Future in Test Tubes?* by J. K. Robertson, and *Newfoundland—Sentinel of the St. Lawrence* by S. A. Saunders and Eleanor Back. *Canada at War*, published monthly by the Wartime Information Board, contains authoritative short articles on every aspect of the war effort both on the home and fighting fronts. These pamphlets are an indispensable source of reliable information. Professor Edgar McInnis's admirable *Oxford Periodical History of the War* continues to make its appearance quarterly.

In Number 17 of the Contemporary Affairs series, *Are Empires Doomed?*, Lionel Gelber states the case for a policy of enlightened imperialism. Number 18, edited by R. Flenley, is a thoughtful discussion of *The Treatment of Post-war Germany*. A series of excellent booklets on the Far East is being published by the Webster Publishing Company in co-operation with the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The titles include *Changing China* by George E. Taylor, *Land of the Soviets* by Marguerite A. Stewart, *Modern Japan* by William Henry Chamberlin, and *Peoples of the China Seas* by Elizabeth A. Clark (Toronto, Longmans Green and Company, 1942, 94 pp. each., 75c. each).

In the Live and Learn Books, *The Key Problem of the Peace: A United States of Europe* by Alan George Kirby (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1943, iv, 45pp., 50c.), after examining developments since the last war, puts the case for a federal organization for Europe. Also in the same series is *Young Canada Confers: The Report of the Second National Young Men's Conference of the Y.M.C.A.'s in Canada, Hart House, University of Toronto, April 23-5, 1943*.

The extremely difficult and important problems of refugees and post-war international migration are dealt with in *Post-war Migrations: Proposals for an International Agency* (New York, American Jewish Committee, 1943, 54 pp.). Specially worth a careful reading is *A Working Peace System: An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization* by David Mitrany (London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1943, 56 pp., 45c.). Much of our post-war international development may be

along the lines here advocated. In the same series is also *The Problem of Germany: An Interim Report* (92 pp., 75c.) by a Chatham House study group.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association held its tenth annual meeting at Hamilton, Ontario, on September 22-3. The registered attendance was 164, and there was a large attendance of non-members who did not register. The following were the speakers at the general session. Banquet: The Rev. Brother Alfred, LL.D., President of the English Section (who gave the presidential address in the absence of the President General, the Rev. Dr. H. J. Somers); the Rev. Thomas Charland, O.P., President of the French Section; the Rev. Dr. G. P. Gilmour, Chancellor of McMaster University; the Very Rev. F. M. Weiler, C. R., President of St. Jerome's College, Kitchener; His Worship Mayor Morrison, of Hamilton. Luncheon: The Very Rev. E. J. McCorkell, C.S.B., Superior General of the Basilian Fathers; Dr. J. F. Kenney. Open Meeting: The Hon. J. J. Hearne, High Commissioner of Ireland; Dr. Victoria Mueller Carson. The following papers were read at the sessions of the two sections: The Rev. Brother Alfred, "The Conversion of Sir Allan MacNab"; Dr. J. F. Leddy, "Newman and His Critics"; the Rev. Thomas F. Battle, "The Right Rev. John Farrell, First Bishop of Hamilton"; Miss Bernice Venini, "Father Scollen, Pioneer Priest of Calgary"; John G. O'Donoghue, B.C.L., "Daniel John O'Donoghue, Father of the Canadian Labor Movement"; James E. Day, K.C., "Hugh Fraser McIntosh"; Evangeline McNeil, "The Importance of the Retreat Movement in Nova Scotia"; the Right Rev. Olivier Maurault, P.S.S., D.P., C.M.G., LL.D., "Les Sulpiciens dans la région de Hamilton au XVII^e siècle"; the Rev. Lorenzo Cadieux, S.J., "Les Jésuites, fondateurs du diocèse du Sault-Sainte-Marie"; Dr. Gustave Lanctôt, K.C., "Un chanoine en guerre contre un Sulpicien"; the Rev. Antonin Papillon, O.P., "Le premier évêque dominicain au Canada: Mgr James J. Carberry, évêque de Hamilton (1883-1887)"; the Rev. Sister Paul-Emile, S.G.C., "Les débuts d'une congrégation (Les Soeurs grises de la Croix à Bytown, 1845-1850)"; the Rev. Paul E. Gosselin, "L'abbé Ango de Maizerets, l'un des fondateurs et premiers supérieurs du séminaire de Québec". Officers elected for the coming year: honorary president, The Most Rev. J. M. Rodrigue, Cardinal Villeneuve, O.M.I.; president general, the Rev. Thomas Charland, O.P. English Section: president, the Rev. Brother Alfred, F.S.C., LL.D.; secretary, Dr. J. F. Kenney; treasurer, W. C. Cain, B.A. French Section: president, Dr. Gustave Lanctôt, K.C.; secretary, Dr. Séraphin Marion; treasurer, the Rev. E. Thivierge, O.M.I. (J. F. KENNEY)

The Champlain Society has issued *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, First Series, 1825-38*, edited by E. E. Rich with an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb.

The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal held its twenty-fifth annual meeting in the library of Fort Anne Museum on November 23. Miss Helen Gabriel read an essay on "The Historical Significance and Importance of Annapolis Royal" to which the L. M. Fortier prize was awarded. The Rev. William Hills then gave a paper on the training ship H.M.C.S. Cornwallis. Officers: president, T. H. Fortier; vice-president, Boyd Barteaux; secretary, the Rev. D. B. Hemmeon; treasurer, Lieut.-Colonel E. K. Eaton.

The Saskatchewan Historical Society in its annual report for 1942-3 has indicated that the society is very active in a number of directions. It is collecting and indexing a great deal of source material, and in this connection has received the co-operation of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Its collection of historical

photographs and its newspaper materials are among the rapidly growing collections of material. Special attention which involves a very great amount of labour is being given to a complete recording of enlistments and war service in the province. The society is locating and marking historic sites and is supplying a great deal of historical material to newspapers. It has also sponsored the translation of the memoirs of Archbishop Taché and is arranging for the publication of a history of the Sioux Indians which has been based on extensive research. A number of other points are also mentioned in the report. Officers: president, J. A. Gregory, M.P.; secretary, Z. M. Hamilton.

La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario of Sudbury, organized in 1942, has published numbers 1 and 2 of *Documents Historiques*. The constitution of the society, an account of its foundation, and articles on Sudbury are among the contents of these two numbers. Officers: honorary president, Mgr S. Coté; president, Dr. J. R. Hurtubise, M.P.; secretary, the Rev. R. Legault, S.J.; treasurer, J. A. Lapalme.

Thunder Bay Historical Society. The fifteenth annual meeting of the North Shore Historical Assembly was held at Duluth on July 31. Mr. J. P. Bertrand, president of the Thunder Bay Historical Society, was one of the speakers, his subject being Du Lhut.

The Upper Canada Railway Society published in its summer bulletin, number 13, a list of its members with addresses and an account of its annual excursion on June 13.

The Waterloo Historical Society held its thirty-first annual meeting on October 22 in Kitchener, Ontario, the addresses being given by G. V. Hilborn who was elected president, and by Elliott Moses, whose subject was the Six Nations Indians. The society maintains a museum in the Public Library Building, Kitchener, and is actively continuing the collection of county records and newspapers. It is compiling a record of the county's enlistments, casualties, and citations. The principal officers are: president, G. V. Hilborn, D.D.; vice-president, J. D. Panabaker; secretary-treasurer, Peter Fisher.

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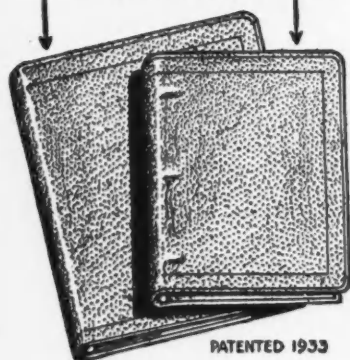
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